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The

Battle of Brains

Canadian Citizenship and The Issues of the War

Published by authority of The Minister of National Defence;
The Minister of National Defence for Naval Service and
The Minister of National Defence for Air,
for instructional use in the
Canadian Forces



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CONTENTS

CHAPTER CONTROL OF THE PROPERTY OF THE PROPERT		PAGE
I.	Canada—our country	7
II.	Canada—from sea to sea	16
III.	Canada and her great neighbours	30
IV.	Canada's armed forces	39
V.	Our allies	54
VI.	Events leading to the war	67
VII.	Germany	80
VIII.	The Hitler method	91
IX.	Japan	103
X.	Italian Fascism	112
XI.	Our precious freedom	122
XII.	Democracy in action	135
XIII.	We must live Democracy	146
	It is up to you and me	158
XV.	The United Nations	172
APPENDIX		
	The Atlantic Charter	182
TT.	United Nations Agreement	183

INTRODUCTION

We are fighting an enemy who is mobilized mentally and morally as well as physically. He is fanatical in his devotion to the tenets of his evil faith and willing to die for them.

The Way of Life of the enemy is not ours. We are determined, even unto death, that his way of life shall not be imposed on us. Our Way of Life is based on Christian principles. We believe in truth, the worth of the individual and the opportunity for a full and rich life. Our way of living is not an easy way but it has in it the essence of happiness for mankind.

The fanaticism of the enemy is not our objective. But we must be informed, interested and inspired. The purpose of our war effort can only be established by hard clear thinking about what we are fighting against and what we are fighting for.

The series of fifteen discussions in this booklet is intended to aid our sailors, soldiers and airmen in thinking about our country, our history, our ideals and our future. This is a citizens' war and a full realization of what citizenship in Canada means will bring a deeper understanding of the issues now at stake. The fifteen discussions consist of five on "Canada", five on "What We Are Fighting Against", and five on "What We Are Fighting For". It is not intended that these should be read at large parades. They are meant to be the background material and basis upon which informal talks and discussions are built. The officers who undertake the duty of leading the discussions will prepare their talks within the scope of the summary for each lecture and make use of the questions listed. It is essential that the men themselves take an active part in the discussions.

Finally, it is the fundamental purpose of this booklet to increase the serviceman's knowledge of, and interest in, the war in general. There is no doubt that, if he is thus made to feel that he is taking part in something great and inspiring, he will be rallied to an enhanced interest in his own job, whatever it may be.

SUMMARY

CHAPTER I

CANADA—OUR COUNTRY

Introduction:

Opportunity to further individual development and enjoyment of life is given by Canadian citizenship.

Our own lives depend on conditions in the whole of Canada and her relation to the rest of the world.

In emergencies nations group together to fight for their country and their ideals.

Methods of Defending Canada:

- 1. Meeting force with force.
- 2. Understanding our country; what we are fighting for; and what we are fighting against.
 - 3. Understanding other lands.

Discovery of Canada:

The thrill of the discovery of this land with its rivers, lakes, prairies and mountains.

Men of many nations had a part in this discovery-

Leif Ericson of Iceland.
Columbus, an Italian from Spain.
Cabot and Vancouver of England.
Cartier, La Verendrye, Champlain of France.
Mackenzie of Scotland.

Peoples of Canada:

Pioneers who made a civilization out of the wilderness—Who were they?

- Founding of Montreal.—Courage and perseverance of Maisonneuve and his little band who dared the vengeance of the Iroquois to found their colony. The strength of their spiritual force was great enough to conquer odds that seemed insurmountable.
- 2. United Empire Loyalists.—Settled in Ontario, and the Maritimes. Uprooted from their homes because of their loyalty to Great Britain. Many walked every step to their new homes where they gradually built themselves a community.
- 3. Central Europeans.—Came by shiploads from countries suffering from political injustice and economic oppression in order that they could be free and independent.

SUMMARY-CHAPTER I-Concluded

- 4. General Immigration.—After Napoleonic Wars, Scottish crofters, Englishmen thrown out of work by depression, Irish people starved out by potato famine and people from all over Europe came to Canada to find the opportunities that were lacking in their own countries.
- All Came for Freedom.—They came to Canada in search of a new and better life with economic, political and religious freedom. They built a civilization out of the wilderness.

The Need for Understanding:

Canada's greatest task is to understand the 30 nationalities who are building this New World; to surmount the differences of language, race, customs and background. Every camp, station and ship provides to us a rare opportunity of learning to understand one another.

Are We Worthy of Our Heritage?

Our pioneer ancestors suffered many hardships and took great risks to win this freedom which we accept as our due and enjoy without any effort on our part.

All this hard-won freedom is challenged now.

We must fight to preserve that freedom for there is no greater evil than the loss of freedom.

Chapter I

CANADA—OUR COUNTRY

You have come here for the purpose of fitting yourself to defend Canada and all that you hold most dear. At first it may have seemed very inconvenient to have to leave your home and occupation. There is no doubt that it does break into the routine of your life. Yet, when you consider this more carefully you will find that you have come here to fulfil the very purpose of your life. You want to live, of course, but you want more than that. You want to live a life that is full of what you think is best. You desire the bounties which your land, Canada, provides; but you desire more: you desire to think freely, to map out your course, and to do your work in your own way. Then you begin to enjoy life. And lastly you feel that you, as a human being, are in this world as part of a plan—a larger plan which we do not wholly understand but which we feel is good.

But you want these things not only for yourself; you want them for those around you—you want them for all Canadians. You want their help and they yours.

You feel that Canada is a land that can provide these things; that Canadians, by and large, think as you do, desire as you do, want to work with you and do not want to lose what you and they value in life. Everything that you do in your daily life is to further, to improve and to preserve your existence and the existence of your fellowmen in the land you love. You have been engaged in certain tasks in the particular niche which you, through the circumstances of your life, birth, education, abilities and opportunities, have carved out for yourself. You have done what you thought was right and proper in trying to further your existence and the existence of those about you. That desire is innate in all human beings and is as old as humanity itself. From whatever walk of life, from whatever part of Canada you have come, that groove in which you move and have your being is dependent upon your Canadian citizenship. The fact that you are living in Canada has made this life of yours what it is. You have striven to develop your life, to control as much as possible the circumstances with which you have been faced. Now you realize that by fitting yourself to defend Canada you are helping to make it possible for you and yours to live and fulfil the life you desire.

All the external conditions which affect our occupation and our future depend upon our ability to maintain the kind of life which we believe to be good for Canada. When we stop to consider the various outside influences that affect our lives, as we will in later lectures, we will find that they are even more important than we realized. Man groups himself for self-defence. When modern man is attacked, it is not enough to fight alone as did his ancestors in their primitive stages. Even the more intelligent of the animals fight in groups. The greater wisdom man possesses, the larger the group in which he operates to defend that which he values.

HOW WE DEFEND CANADA

By Force

You are here as a group of Canadians. You have come here because your country is in danger; you have come for the purpose of learning how to defend it most effectively. One way is that of meeting force with force, and Canada is now an arsenal of democracy with its munition plants, aircraft factories, ships, sailors, soldiers and airmen.

By Greater Understanding

There is another very important phase of defence of Canadian life which will be discussed in these talks—viz., an appreciation and understanding of Canadian citizenship, and a better knowledge of what you are fighting against and what you are fighting for.

You have enlisted because Canada is at war.

Why are we at war?

Canada is remote from the scene of action; why did we have to become involved?

By whose action—on whose responsibility did we get into the fight?

What is this thing we are fighting?

What difference will the outcome have on our own individual lives?

These and other questions are quite properly in your minds. Many of you have partial answers now. With the aid of some interesting material we hope to clarify and enlarge upon these answers. You will then be better qualified to help others in their thinking.

In a country such as Canada, where every one of us is free, at 21 years a citizen and a voter, we have a responsibility to know about this country of ours. We are inclined to think of ourselves as belonging to, and being affected by, that part of

Canada only in which we live. Now we learn that life is not made that way. Our individual lives are made happy or unhappy, successful or otherwise, by circumstances that influence all of Canada. We shall find that everything we had hoped for in the future is dependent, not only on Canada as such, but on Canada's situation as one of the nations of the world. This kind of thinking and understanding requires not only a knowledge of our country, but of other lands as well. First of all, we will discuss some of the things we all should know about our background.

THE PHYSICAL DISCOVERY OF CANADA

We are a nation among nations. We have won the right to be called a nation through the gradual development of our institutions at home and by our participation in the affairs of the world.

Many years have passed since Canada was discovered by intrepid and fearless adventurers from the old land. They set out to see the world and found a land of great forests, teeming rivers, large inland lakes, broad prairies and majestic mountains. They found savage Indians, herds of buffalo, and wild animals. They met and overcame all of the hardships of a pioneer civilization. You can hardly think of that great band of explorers and early settlers who founded Canada without a feeling of pride that you sprang from them or that you share the heritage of their effort. Every true Canadian should read the stories of Leif Ericson, Christopher Columbus, John Cabot, George Vancouver, Jacques Cartier, Samuel Champlain, La Verendrye, Henry Hudson and Alexander Mackenzie. They came from various countries to found a new country. They left routes and trails for civilization to follow, and this Canada of today is the result. You are setting out to establish paths for new social living in the world. Your mission is not unlike that of our early explorers in Canada. You will need to have their courage, their perseverance and their vision to accomplish your purpose. The challenge to you is as great as it was to them.

PEOPLES OF CANADA

There was romance in the discovery of the new land, in seeing for the first time its earth, trees, water and stone. But our interest is in a new world which means not only land, but land inhabited by a society of men. This new world has grown slowly. It is made up of the blood and sweat of the pioneer. By far the greater romance of Canada's story is this creation of a new world by the struggles of its early men and women.

Who then were these people who made of the wilderness a human society? Why did they come here and whence? Not many of you are far removed from pioneer ancestry. You will be able to add many others to the incidents we are about to recall. Just a few glimpses will suffice and we will leave it to you to round out the story of this great adventure which has made Canada.

Founding of Montreal

Our first scene has to do with the founding of the city of Montreal, now the largest city of Canada. It was in the year 1642. The scene—something like the following:

A tiny ship is seen coming slowly into the harbour of Quebec. The Governor of New France has come to the quay to welcome the new arrivals. Although courteous, he is not very cordial to the leader, Sieur de Maisonneuve, whose words probably were:

"We have come, not to make ourselves rich with the fur trade, but to found a mission, a hospital and a school on the Island of Mont Royal. I have with me fifty men and four women. One of them is Mme. Jeanne Mance, who is to be director of the hospital."

But the Governor now speaks sharply, "Your scheme is impossible. Mont Royal is too near the Iroquois for you to build a city."

Maisonneuve replies, "Even if every tree were an Iroquois, we should go."

The Governor is angry and says in a loud voice, "Brave words you speak my friend, but they are not wise. The Indians are everywhere.... When we were building a fort on the Richelieu, they came stealthily, and wounded and killed my men. They burn our buildings—like madmen, they torture our bodies."

But Maisonneuve refused to listen. "It is my duty and my honour to found a colony at Mont Royal; for us there is no turning back."

It is recorded that Mme. Jeanne Mance ministered to the needy and suffering for all the remaining years of her life. The settlement, first given the name of Ville Marie, was consecrated in the following words:

"You are a grain of mustard seed that shall rise and grow till its branches shall overshadow the earth. You are few, but your work is the work of God. His smile is upon you and your children shall fill the land." This was spoken over 300 years ago when the total white population of the new land numbered but a few hundred souls. Now, Montreal is a city with a population of one million. Had we but time we would tell many tales of perseverance, of courage and unselfishness, of gallant adventure against fearful odds, that are woven into the story of this Canadian metropolis. Even then the story of the growth of Montreal is just one of innumerable instances which you can read to show that in those days, in church worker and settler alike, the strength of spiritual force was great enough to conquer all physical discomfort and torture. The ministration of the loyal servants of the Church to Indian and white man alike, their persistence in spite of every conceivable inconvenience and disaster is a chapter ablaze with the glory of service.

The United Empire Loyalists

The place is the county of Glengarry in Eastern Ontario; the year, 1784. We see a throng of tired and anxious-looking people. Bravely they remark to each other that very soon they will again have homes of their own. They say the land is good. They are going to fell the huge trees and plant crops. These people are the United Empire Loyalists. Fifteen hundred of them have come to Canada within a few weeks. They were tall and thin and very stern looking. They came originally from the Highlands of Scotland. They left their hills and glens for the same reason as the settlers of the Maritimes and the settlers of the Prairies left their homes. Many were driven from those homes by land owners who wished to turn the land into huge sheep-ranches. Others left because they longed for freedom of religious worship. Thirty-five years before, they had come to America; now, once again, they have been up-rooted because of their loyalty to Great Britain and because the New England States have broken away from the Motherland.

Many of the settlers who founded Glengarry walked to their new homes through miles of swamp and forest. An old diary tells of a mother who was thus carrying two children on her back. In her weary journey through the woods she thought her burden had become lighter and discovered she had dropped one child! She retraced her steps with great difficulty and finally found one youngster peacefully sleeping on a decayed log over which she had passed, his hands begrimed with earth. The child lived to a ripe old age, but was always called "Spogan Dubh", (black paws) the exclamation of his mother on finding him.

Gradually land was cleared, farmsteads, pasture lands, and log cabins appeared. A sense of security in their homes and confidence in themselves and the new land grew. How pleasant it is to think of these loyal people of the Highlands of Scotland settled in comfortable homes and able to earn their living! They have shown industry, hardihood and enterprise. They have contributed sterling qualities to the Canadian nation.

The same devotion and the same hardy courage were shown in the Loyalist Settlements in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the Eastern Townships of Quebec, and the eastern part of the Great Lakes region.

Central Europeans

Allow us next to tell a story of an early settler from Central Europe. Some years ago there lived in middle Europe a man, at that time a radical, whose spirit rebelled against injustice and oppression. As a result of his political activities he was forced to flee his native land. He came to Canada. Almost the first sight which greeted him when he disembarked in Montreal, was what he, mistakenly, took to be a political meeting conducted at a street corner, under a red flag. There was a band playing and there was singing. He did not understand the words but with his heart still burning within him, the refugee threw on the drum a generous portion of the little money he had left. It was a Salvation Army meeting, and not the Communist meeting that he had thought it to be.

Time marches on. The scene changes to the front portico of the Parliament Buildings at Winnipeg. The day is the 24th of May, 1939, and the occasion is the visit to the City of their Majesties, the King and Queen.

One of the strongest voices shouting a welcome is that of the former political refugee. He is now and has been for seventeen years a Member of the Provincial Legislature. He is welcoming his King—the King of Canada—and he is weeping. Why?

"Because," he says, "in Canada, I have found that which, in my native land, I sought long years in vain. In the presence of their Majesties who symbolize freedom, how can I, who have known so bitterly the lack of it, not be moved? You Canadian-born citizens do not understand because you do not know what it is to be without freedom".

Difficult conditions in Europe from time to time caused economic depression and political upheavals that made life wretched for many thousands of people. Hence they turned hopefully to this New World, still in the making.

And so these people from Europe came to Canada by the shipload. They wore sheepskin jackets and shawls and they carried packs of household treasures. Many of them knew no word of English. But in their hearts was the same burning desire, the same willingness to work and the same motivating force. All they asked was the opportunity to live a life of freedom and independence. They wanted their own plot of land and they were eager to work for it with bare but willing hands.

General Immigration

The nineteenth century saw the beginning of emigration to Canada on a large scale. First there were the Scottish crofters, lean, grim men and women. These people brought their families and their solid Scottish virtues of thrift and hard work. Some came, by way of Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay, portaged around the dangerous rapids of the Hayes and Nelson Rivers and established the first English settlement at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, where now stands the city of Winnipeg.

After these, in eager thousands, came Englishmen thrown out of work by the depression which descended on Europe after the long struggle against Napoleon. The Irish came too, when

their potato crops were killed by blight.

Nor was it long before the rest of Europe saw in the young expanding land across the Atlantic, a hope and an opportunity which their own lands could not offer. The story of Canada during the nineteenth century is more than anything else the story of colonization. Danes, Norwegians and Swedes came to the Maritimes with their knowledge of ships and fishing, to the West with their knowledge of farming. Germans, who preferred the freedom of this continent to the iron rule of a Bismarck or a Kaiser Wilhelm, sailed with their families for the new land. Americans were drawn northward by the rich promise of the soil.

All Came for Freedom

It matters little now where they came from, whether it was from France, England, Central Europe or the Scandinavian countries; it matters not at all what was the immediate urge. Whatever the reason for leaving their homes, we see successive waves of pioneers pushing bravely into the wilderness in quest of a new and better life. Gradually the wilderness was tamed. People became securely rooted in this new Canada. The country grew and prospered. People demanded means of communications. Roads and railways were built, waterways were improved, timber was cut, mines were discovered and fisheries were developed. The pioneers responded to the independent spirit

of the New World, for had not all come in search of freedom, whether economic, political or religious? They hewed a country out of the wilderness; they organized a government; they built up the civilization that is ours.

TO KNOW EACH OTHER IS TO UNDERSTAND

And so we have people of thirty nationalities co-operating in building Canada. To achieve nationhood, we must learn to understand one another.

There is a story told of Charles Lamb. He was walking with a friend and in looking across the street, remarked, "I don't like that man". The friend said, "Why?" Charles Lamb replied, "Because I don't know him". Lamb was rebuking the prejudice that springs from ignorance.

There have been, and still are, in Canada, differences of language, of racial customs, and of background. There are times when, failing to get past these surface differences, we say that we do not like a certain individual. The best way to get to like people is to work with them. When people get to know each other understanding comes readily. This was put to the test on our west coast at the beginning of permanent settlement. A writer describing the city of Victoria, as it was in the middle of the nineteenth century, has this to say:

"A walk through the streets of Victoria showed the little capital to be a small copy of the world. Its population is less than 5,000, but almost every nationality is represented. Greek fishermen, Jewish merchants, French, German and Yankee restaurant keepers, English officials and Australian farmers, rub against each other apparently in a most friendly way."

What was then true of Victoria is even more true today

of most of our large cities.

You in the armed services are given a rare opportunity of learning to understand each other. Find out how many racial backgrounds there are in your unit. Possibly in some parts of Canada as many as thirty may be represented. We Canadians are evolving a culture as rich and varied as our landscape. It is worthy of the willing allegiance of all who are helping to make it. We want to be:

"One voice, one people, one in heart And soul and feeling and desire.".....

ARE WE WORTHY OF OUR HERITAGE?

Our ancestors came here because they wished to live as free people. They were willing to take great risks. They endured being herded like cattle into ships that were unseaworthy, unsanitary and overcrowded. Smallpox and ship fever often threatened their lives. When finally they landed on Canadian soil very few were given a hospitable welcome. Most of them had reason to fear the Indians, the threat of hunger and the rigours of our climate, for which they were totally unprepared.

We are the children or grandchildren of these people. To us the freedom which they sought here has become an accepted fact. We are inclined to think of this liberty, as we do of the land which in some cases these forefathers have willed to us, as something we own and will continue to own without any effort on our part.

There can be no greater mistake. All those freedoms which we in Canada have taken for granted are now being challenged. Suddenly, all that we value most is threatened. We find ourselves at war. We hated war. The knowledge, that all which is most precious to us is at stake, revives in us the courage of our ancestors.

They came here for freedom. We will preserve that freedom. We are willing to fight to keep that freedom.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Your ancestors came to Canada to enjoy freedom of living.
 What were the conditions of living in the country from which your ancestors came?
- 2. Many of your ancestors were pioneers in Canada. Discuss some of their experiences.
 - What can we learn from them?
- 3. Canada is a country of people of different racial origin.

 Show how these people have learned to live together and to be Canadians.
- 4. It is said that we are fighting to preserve our "way of life".

 What is meant by our way of life?
- 5. What makes you feel that you want to fight for your country?

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(Publications, issued from time to time by the Wartime Information Board, will provide study for the subjects covered in all fifteen lectures.)

15

SUMMARY

CHAPTER II

CANADA-FROM SEA TO SEA

Canada's Size-Distribution of Population-Climate-Language Groups.

The Maritime Provinces:

New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island—the gateway to Canada-products from other provinces sent via the ports to Britainforests, fish, farming, fruits-ships, steel, stoves-coal, cod, cottons, canned goods, chemicals. People are of Scottish, English and French descent.

Problems of markets, contact with rest of Canada, year-round employment, finance.

Quebec:

Largest province—French, English and Scottish people—much of province uninhabited—Noranda and Rouyn, gold and silver—Hull, paper—Ste. Agathe, health and winter resorts—Gatineau electric power development—French villages—Montreal, the Metropolis of Canada—Three Rivers, Quebec—Eastern Townships—Gaspé—asbestos mining—fishing villages.

Perseverance, frugality, devoutness of people. Need for language equality and understanding.

Ontario:

Responsibilities of central location—large population—Northern Ontario, mines—water and railway routes—variety of farm products—forest and fishing—Ottawa, the Capital of Canada—Toronto, Hamilton, Windsor, London-tourist attractions-early settlements. Problems of co-ordination and distribution.

The Prairie Provinces:

Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, southern part, prairie and ranch land—northern part, forests and steppes—wheat, elevators, railways oil, coal, natural gas-farm implements-chief cities. People of many races. Problems of weather and markets.

British Columbia:

Gateway to the Pacific-Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster, Nelson, Nanaimo, Prince Rupert-mountains, valleys and rivers-early explorations-mines and smelters-farming, fishing and forests. Problems of transportation and personal contacts with Eastern Canada.

Canada's Development

Chapter II

CANADA-FROM SEA TO SEA

Canada is a large country. It is half a continent—the north half of North America. It covers nearly 3,700,000 square miles. From east to west it extends over approximately four thousand miles; north and south it extends from the American border to ice-covered islands in the Arctic Circle, a distance over fifteen hundred miles.

But if we look at Canada from the point of view of settlement, it is a long narrow fringe north of the International Boundary. This fringe is approximately 200 miles wide. We are told that more than nine out of every ten Canadians live within the 200 miles strip, and more than half the total population within 100 miles of the boundary.

Climatic conditions vary greatly. On the Atlantic sea coast there is the average climate of the temperate zone with a fair range in summer and winter temperatures. On the prairies we have the extremes of summer heat and winter cold while in Victoria the temperature is remarkably mild and moderate.

In Canada there are two official languages—French and English. The French number 28·22 per cent of the total population. The Anglo-Saxons number 51·86 per cent of the population. The remaining 19·92 per cent are people of every language and of every creed.

Let us study in greater detail the physical parts of Canada. We shall group provinces somewhat in doing this but we shall not think of these groups as separate social or economic entities. The Maritime group of provinces on the East and British Columbia on the West are widely separated by distance but intimate in their concern for Canada's progress.

The Maritime Provinces

New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island border the Gulf of St. Lawrence. They are at the gateway to Canada. In their ports, ships from Great Britain take on grain from the Prairies, lumber from Ontario and Quebec. Train loads of imported products are sent to Central Canada and the West.

17

If you live in the Maritimes, you don't need to be told of the scenery, or the products or the extreme friendliness of the people. But, for those who come from other parts of Canada, there are some things you should know about this very old and very lovely part of Canada. If you are stationed in the Maritimes try to see different parts of these provinces.

A pictorial map of the Maritimes would show forests in the north central part of New Brunswick, extending almost to the East coast; fish and lobster along the greater part of the coasts of all three provinces; farm products along the lower Saint John River, in all parts of Prince Edward Island and in strips along most of the coast line of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; apples and small fruits in the Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia. There would be moose and deer in the New Brunswick forests, fish in the lakes and rivers of all three provinces, and silver fox farms in southern New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. An industrial map would show ship-building, coal mining, fish packing, and the manufacture of such products as iron and steel, sheet metal, tools, stoves and woollen goods, cottons, agricultural implements, canned goods, chemicals, leather, etc. A physical map would show red soil in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, tidal rivers, low ridges of land in New Brunswick and running the length of Nova Scotia with rocky areas and inland lakes in Cape Breton.

What are the problems of the Maritime people? The people are farmers, fishermen, miners, manufacturers and those engaged in shipping and transportation. They may be of Scottish, French, or English descent but they are all Canadians. The chief problems are distance from the larger markets of Canada and proximity to United States markets, the difficulty of finding professional and vocational outlets for their young people, of maintaining social and cultural contact with the rest of Canada, of keeping a year-round employment for men whose work is seasonal, and of providing money for education and social welfare.

These are problems that will require thought and understanding. They are problems in which you will be interested whether you live in the Maritimes or not, as they are Canadian problems.

Quebec

Quebec is the largest province of Canada, almost half as large again as Ontario, twice as large as any of the Prairie Provinces, almost twice as large as British Columbia, and ten times as large as the Maritime Provinces. You may think of it as purely French, but there are old United Empire Loyalist

groups in Gaspé, Scottish settlements in Châteauguay and Argenteuil, English and American descendants along the Ottawa, and a large English-speaking population in Montreal. French, however, is the dominant language in most parts of the province.

The great northern part of Quebec, largely covered with forest and enclosed by Northern Ontario, James Bay, Hudson Bay, Hudson Strait, Ungava Bay, and the new Labrador Boundary, has very few inhabitants. Most of the people of Quebec live along the north and south shores of the St. Lawrence, in the Eastern Townships, on Gaspé peninsula and along the north shore of the Ottawa River.

What do these people do? The best way to find out is to make an imaginary journey over Quebec's fine system of roads from Noranda to Gaspé. Noranda is in North Western Quebec, not far from the Northern Ontario Mining area, and with Rouyn, is well known for gold and copper mines. The new road south-east to Maniwaki, north of Ottawa, takes you through almost virgin timberland. From Maniwaki there are two routes, east and south by way of Ste. Agathe, Ste. Adèle, summer and winter resorts, to Montreal, or, south through the Laurentian Hills to Hull and thence east to Montreal. On this latter route, which follows the north shore of the Ottawa River, are electric power plants on the Gatineau River, farm lands, pulp and paper mills, French villages and many historic sites.

Montreal, the Metropolis of Canada, extends in all directions around Mount Royal. From the top of the mountain, which has been turned into a beautiful park, Montreal will be seen as a huge agglomeration of industrial, commercial and residential districts. Skyscrapers have sprung up since 1920 but the city tends to expand in width and length rather than in height. Its harbour, the largest inland sea port in the world, is one thousand miles from the ocean and is modern in every respect. Before the war, it was one of the most important in America, ships calling here with their cargoes from all countries of the world. Montreal typifies modern French Canada and in it lives a cosmopolitan population. The two racial groups are represented here by two universities, McGill University and University of Montreal, and two languages spoken on the streets, in the stores and in the churches. It is a striking example of a modern and progressive bilingual community.

From Montreal, the great shipping centre, you may go along the north shore of the St. Lawrence to Quebec, passing through Three Rivers, a prosperous city, with a huge grain elevator and large paper mills. Near the site of this city Jean Talon, one of the famous intendants of New France, built the first forge in

America. Three Rivers is connected by the St. Maurice River and a highway with Shawinigan Falls and Grand'mère. If you travel along the south shore of the St. Lawrence from Montreal, you see a vast farm area, maple sugar woods, and more French villages, all very neat, very devout, and moderately old. The main cities of this section of the province are: Sherbrooke, Sorel, St. Hyacinthe and Granby. In Thetford Mines is operated the greatest asbestos mine in Canada. This south shore route leads to the town of Lévis, well known for its dry docks, across the

St. Lawrence from Quebec.

Quebec City, the capital, is well known to tourists and all who are interested in Canadian history. It was founded in 1608 by Sieur de Champlain. There are still many evidences of early French architecture, but the old city has been merged with the new city to form a most interesting capital, a centre of learning, and a most hospitable community. From Quebec going east, you may choose to travel by the north shore and see Montmorency Falls, Ste. Anne de Beaupré with its sacred shrine, Murray Bay with its fine summer hotel, and the Saguenay River leading to Arvida, the city of aluminum and power, to the paper mills at Chicoutimi, and to the beautiful Lake St. John. In this region lived Maria Chapdelaine, portrayed by the French novelist, Louis Hémon.

You may leave Quebec City to go south by the Quebec Bridge or by a ferry boat. Crossing to Lévis, you will want to look back and admire the towering mass of grey rock on which stands the Citadel of Quebec. The road follows the south shore through Montmagny, Řivière-du-Loup, Mont Joli, Notre-Dame-du Portage, Rimouski, and dozens of smaller towns or villages whose cottages and rustic-styled hotels attract so many tourists from all over Canada and the United States. A modern road will

lead you around the Peninsula of Gaspé.

This quick tour of Quebec, from north to south and from west to east, has been described only to stimulate a desire to see more of this historic province with its mixed English and

French civilizations.

Around Quebec and Montreal there are numerous factories producing day and night for victory. In large plants, planes, tanks, ships, explosives, ammunition, parachutes, shoes and textiles for the Armed Forces are being made. Peacetime industry has been turned into war industry. The smaller cities, too, are doing their share while the countryside provides meat, butter, cheese and vegetables in larger quantities than were ever produced before. Valleyfield, Beauharnois, Berthier, Ste. Therese, Lachine, Verdun, Joliette, La Tuque are industrial cities worth visiting on your next tour.

With the memories of this trip to the old province fresh in your mind, resolve to read more about its history and its achievements. "The Lure of Quebec" by W. P. Percival, "French Canadians To-day" by Col. W. Bovey and "Au Cœur du Québec" by Marius Barbeau are just a few of the noteworthy books that will help you to visualize its past and its future and to obtain a glimpse of the part it will play in the Canada of to-morrow.

Quebec has problems that are similar to those of other provinces. Its people want to be understood by the people of other provinces. They speak French, are Catholic, and cherish certain "old" customs and traditions. These are a legacy from their forefathers. They hold them sacred and they want them respected. The Province of Quebec—like the French minorities in the other provinces—is making its contribution for Canada's growth to full nationhood. Canada needs this perseverance, frugality and religious idealism in the present and in the postwar period.

Ontario

With Quebec on the east, Manitoba on the west, the salt water of Hudson and James Bay on the north and the fresh water of the Great Lakes on the south, Ontario is in the centre of Canada. There are advantages in this and there are special responsibilities.

Ontario stands first among the provinces in total population, in production from factories, farms, mines and electric power plants. This wealth of production and strategic geographic location places on Ontario a responsibility for distribution of these products to other provinces and for the exchange of goods from east to west and west to east. It also makes Ontario a centre for exchange of less tangible things like Canadian culture, Canadian ideals and goodwill among Canadian people.

You are familiar with the centres of population, farm lands and manufacturing plants of Southern Ontario and with the vast expanse of rock and forest in Northern Ontario that produces so much nickel, gold, silver, iron and lumber. You have noted the long lake and river route for ships from Port Arthur and Fort William to Montreal. A few points of interest on the way are Sault Ste. Marie, Sarnia, Windsor, the Welland Canal, Toronto, Kingston, the Thousand Islands, and several towns and cities on the St. Lawrence, such as Brockville, Prescott and Cornwall.

The railway lines over which you may have travelled from the west through Sioux Lookout, Capreol, North Bay and Ottawa, or by way of Cochrane, New Liskeard, North Bay, Toronto, Oshawa, Belleville and Kingston give you a better view of how Ontario people work and live.

There is an interesting distribution of farm products in Ontario. In south-western Ontario near Windsor and Sarnia are grown great quantities of tobacco and sugar beets. North and east of this, near London, are mixed farming areas producing grains, beef, and dairy products. In the Niagara area (Hamilton, St. Catharines and Niagara Falls) small fruits, such as peaches, grapes, plums, pears, cherries, are grown extensively. Toronto, with its population of almost a million people, provides a market for vast quantities of vegetables, meat, dairy products and eggs produced in this area. Apple orchards produce their luscious annual crop in the Lake Ontario area, especially near Brighton and Cobourg. Farther east along the St. Lawrence, is the great dairy area from which so much butter and cheese are exported. The Ottawa Valley produces beef, potatoes, poultry and eggs. In spite of a much shorter summer season, a rich clay belt in Northern Ontario is capable of great farm production.

You are able now to locate on a map, the chief mining areas, forest areas and farming areas of Ontario. You know the main water and rail routes that cross Ontario from west to east. You know where the centres of population are. One of these, Ottawa, needs special reference.

Mention of Ottawa brings a chain of associations. You may think of it as a political centre, where party representatives meet; as a military centre where all sorts of regulations are made; as a financial centre where the money comes to pay for government projects; as a place of secret planning of blueprints for war and peace. Actually, it is the very beautiful capital of Canada. It is your Capital City. In it, your government representatives meet with other representatives to discuss ways and means of making Canada a safer and better place in which to live. Taxes are collected and laws are made, but the taxes come from the people's purse for the people's needs, and the laws are made to safeguard and protect the people and their property.

Toronto, the legislative centre for Ontario, and second largest city of Canada is, as well, a manufacturing centre, a transportation centre, and an educational, literary and cultural centre. Hamilton, at the head of Lake Ontario, manufactures farm implements, electrical appliances and food products. Windsor and adjoining cities are closely connected with the automobile industry of Detroit. London, in the south-western peninsula, is a collecting and distributing centre for that part of the

province. Other large cities and towns along rail and waterways have been mentioned.

Before the war, the various hunting, fishing and pleasure resorts of Ontario attracted many American and Canadian tourists; the forests, lakes, rivers and delightful summer climate contributed greatly to health and recreation when pleasure could be enjoyed and travel was not restricted. Muskoka, Haliburton, Algonquin Park, the Rideau, the French River, and the northern lakes will be recalled when the serious business of winning the war and the peace have been accomplished.

Hydro-electric power is developed in Ontario at several points. The cities, mines, and war factories are dependent on these for power. Some plans were made by the United States and the Canadian and Ontario Governments to build a dam on the St. Lawrence River west of Cornwall, and to build a large power plant and ship canal. No action will be taken until the war is won.

In each of these brief studies of the provinces, some reference is made to the people who live there. If the settlements were described in historic setting, they would include:

- (1) United Empire Loyalists whose descendants live along the St. Lawrence River, along the Niagara River, and in Western Ontario.
- (2) Scottish settlers in Glengarry, Lanark, Renfrew and South Waterloo Counties.
- (3) English groups from Lake Huron to Guelph.
- (4) Descendants of the varied group established in the Talbot settlement near Lake Erie.
- (5) Mennonites from Germany who live near Waterloo.
- (6) Quakers from Pennsylvania who settled in North York, Prince Edward County and near London.
- (7) United States settlers who moved across the border in search of land.
- (8) Irish settlers in the Ottawa Valley.
- (9) French who moved westward from Quebec province.

Ontario then has a mixture of many people, all blending their varied characteristics for the national good. Time has accomplished this blending in large part. The war has given an added purpose to the process. All are Canadians fighting a common enemy.

Thus Ontario, with the Capital of Canada in its midst, where the Maritimers, the French of Quebec, Prairie farmers, and representatives of British Columbia meet, has a great responsibility. In assimilation, co-ordination and distribution of Canadian provincial trade, it can do much to accomplish that economic, social, and cultural unity that is so necessary to Canadian nationhood.

The Prairie Provinces

The three provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta can well be grouped in this little survey for they bring to mind adventurous exploration, Indians and herds of buffalo in the early days, vast open spaces that were cultivated to produce one of the world's greatest supplies of wheat, settlements of European farmers, and a great spirit of friendliness born of social isolation, common objectives and a proximity to pioneer problems.

Westerners, as the people of this area are familiarly known, have a different sense of values in scenery, social customs, and economic relationships from those of the East. You will think perhaps that the owner of a 1,000-acre farm in Saskatchewan would have little in common with the owner of a 20-acre farm in Quebec. Yet both are contributing to Canada's production and progress. Both are Canadians engaged in vital industry. The sons of each are your pals in the forces. Products from each of the two farms may be side by side on transport ships going to Britain to feed our soldiers.

Even if you haven't seen the Prairies, you no doubt have a pretty clear picture of a typical scene: miles of grain being planted, growing, or being harvested; farm homes widely separated; few trees; railway towns with grain elevators; and a general spaciousness.

Except for the last, this description fits only the southern quarter of Manitoba, the southern half of Saskatchewan and the south-eastern part of Alberta. North of each of these areas is mixed wooded and farm area, and still farther north a great steppe area. Alberta rises rapidly in the foothills to the mountains. In the north, there is the well-known farming district along the Peace River.

As you go from east to west, across the Prairies, you notice that the land rises in three steppes, one in southern Manitoba, the second rising in western Manitoba and extending half way across Saskatchewan, where the third continues to the foothills of Alberta. The climate is very cold in winter and very warm in summer, with an amount of rainfall that is not very constant, with the result that there are frequent dry seasons.

The two main railway lines connect up the larger cities. From southern Alberta, the line from Calgary and Medicine Hat, and

the branch lines from Macleod and Lethbridge, pass through Swift Current, Moose Jaw and Regina in Saskatchewan and on to Brandon, Portage la Prairie and Winnipeg. Similarly the line from Jasper passes through central Alberta to Edmonton, thence to Saskatoon in Saskatchewan and east to Winnipeg in Manitoba. Both lines are transcontinental, coming from British Columbia in the West and continuing through Ontario and Quebec to the Maritimes in the East.

The Prairies produce hard wheat, the best variety in the world for flour. The average yield of all kinds of wheat during 1936-1941 was approximately 350,000,000 bushels per year. In peace time, this satisfied Canadian needs, and vast quantities were shipped to Great Britain, European countries, New Zealand, Japan and South Africa. On the outbreak of war, export was more difficult because of lack of shipping space. Millions of bushels had to be stored to await shipment. It is gratifying to those who toiled so hard to produce this great food supply, to know that they have been able to alleviate food shortages in Britain and allied countries.

Although wheat and grains are the chief products of the Prairie Provinces, there are many others. Oil, so essential to the war effort, is being produced in the Turner Valley of Alberta. Stock raising and ranching are important industries. The manufactured products are made from local raw materials and consist chiefly of flour, cereals, brick, cement, leather, butter, meat products and lumber. There are also assembly plants for farm implements. Winnipeg alone had 657 manufacturing plants in 1940. Saskatoon is the centre of the tanning industry. Edmonton and Calgary with coal, oil and natural gas at their door produce many manufactured goods.

The fur trade, for which the West was famous in its early history, still flourishes. The Hudson's Bay Company maintains an extensive trade with Indians and trappers in the northern parts of the provinces.

The most interesting resource of any area is its people. In the Prairie Provinces is found the greatest variety of this resource. Immigration to Canada in the early part of the century meant largely immigration to the Prairies, for this was then the great new part of Canada where land was cheap and production was assured. As a result, there are important British settlements and smaller groups of French, Scandinavians, Germans, Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Icelanders, Russians, Poles and other nationalities. All of these are now Canadians. They have maintained the language, religion and customs that they brought with them, but they have participated in Canadian life

and have enriched its culture by their presence. These Canadians do not live on islands of Canadian soil; they form a very important part of the mainland of our nationhood.

The Prairies have obvious problems of production, transportation and economy. They do not wish to have their domestic problems solved by charity or paternalism, but by a co-operative plan with other parts of Canada in which they have a contribution to make and from which they have benefits to share.

British Columbia

In varieties of climate, industry, and surface features, British Columbia is different from the other provinces. At the extreme west of Canada, it is a maritime province at the gateway to the Pacific. Captain Cook came to this part of America in 1778. He was followed by Captain Vancouver. In 1793, Alexander Mackenzie came overland, to be followed by Simon Fraser and by David Thompson. These early explorers must have been awed by the massive peaks, the tumbling rivers, and the variegated coast.

British Columbia is mountainous. The Rockies on the east with such peaks as Mount Robson rising to 12,900 feet form a barrier that is pierced by three passes, Crows Nest, Kicking Horse and Yellowhead. Parallel ranges lower in altitude lie between the Rockies and the coast. The interior part is less rocky, more complex and dissected by deep trenches running transversely.

The mountains are wooded to a high altitude, but the tops of the peaks are covered with snow. The tree growth is more luxuriant on the western slopes of the coast range. The chief varieties are Douglas fir, western cedar, hemlock and Sitka spruce. On Vancouver Island, and the Queen Charlotte Islands, and on the mainland as far north as Prince Rupert, timber, lumber and pulp and paper are produced. Over \$10,000,000 worth of lumber was shipped from British Columbia per year before the war.

While the Prairies have their harvest of the soil, British Columbia has its harvest of the sea. The most valuable catch is salmon. These very tasty fish are hatched in coastal rivers, move out to sea for three years, and return to complete the cycle of their lives in British Columbia waters. They are caught by the fishermen as they move in to spawn. The red and pink flesh of the sockeye, spring and coho is canned in great factories and shipped to all parts of the world. Other fish caught along the coast are halibut, cod, herring and pilchards.

The discovery of gold in the Cariboo and Kootenay districts brought many prospectors and miners to British Columbia. Gold nuggets and gold dust were also found along the Fraser River, and on the Queen Charlotte Islands. Most recently, the vast smelter at Trail was developed for the production of chemicals, zinc, lead, gold, silver, cadmium, acids and fertilizers. The Sullivan mine in East Kootenay is the greatest zinc and lead mine in the world. It produces also a large quantity of silver. Coal is mined on the northern part of Vancouver Island and in the Crows Nest Pass region.

Farming is carried on along the rivers and lakes in the mountain valleys. These areas are not extensive but are very productive. Fruit is grown in the Okanagan Valley and is shipped east to supplement the crops in Ontario. Hops, tobacco and melons are also grown. Beef and dairy cattle supply the province with meat, butter and cheese. Vegetables and poultry products are supplied from small farms, many of which are now operated by Chinese.

The delightful climate of the south-western part of the province has attracted the greatest number of people to Victoria, Vancouver and New Westminster. Other cities are Nanaimo, Prince Rupert, Nelson.

Three railway lines cut across the province. Trans-Canada trains leave and arrive daily. Aeroplane service is maintained daily with eastern cities and a network of air routes connects different parts of the province.

The problems of British Columbia, except for that of maintaining economic contact with the rest of Canada, are not so marked. There are domestic problems that have an effect on Canada but the war has brought about an adjustment in some of these. Canada is so large and so spread out that the greatest problem is distance and time. With the advent of air travel, faster trains and a sincere desire to know one another and share responsibilities, the West can now meet the East and both can benefit.

CANADA'S DEVELOPMENT

Let us in briefest outline recall some of the major developments from the time when "Canada" meant an Indian village down to to-day when the same name signifies the northern half of the North American continent. To Indian villages and French settlements and missions in the valley of the St. Lawrence River, add the United Empire Loyalist settlements (on the shores of the Great Lakes) and you have "Canada" in the beginning of the 19th century; a geographical area without a

national consciousness. The war between Great Britain and the United States in 1812, gave the people a feeling of nationality and made certain that Canada would remain British. The struggle for political reform and the opening of the Prairies in the West by the Selkirk settlers increased the desire for self-government. In 1841 the two provinces of Canada, Upper and Lower, became a Union. The westward push in the United States, the Civil War in that country, political deadlock in Canada, the economic difficulties in all the British North American colonies resulted in 1867 in the Canadian experiment in Confederation, by which four provinces became the Dominion of Canada with political unity. (It should be noted that Prince Edward Island did not come in until 1873.) By 1871 Manitoba and British Columbia had been included, and geographically, the union was completed.

The building of our transcontinental railways and highway; the establishment of nationally organized banks and business firms; the development of communications by telegraph, telephone, and radio, all these have been active agents in strengthening the physical bonds of union. In the Great War, 1914-18, the bonds were more firmly established. To-day Canada is a nation. The diverse elements have been brought together in such a way that our "unity in diversity" has been a source of strength, not weakness. Politically and spiritually, Canada has a tremendously powerful unifying element—our love of freedom. Ask yourself the question, "Why did the French of Talon's time or the English of the U.E. Lovalists, or the Scottish Selkirk Settlers, or the Irish of the "hungry forties", or the thousands of European immigrants of the early 1900s and since 1919, all come to Canada?" Invariably the answer is that they came here in search of freedom, for the one or all of the four freedoms stated by President Roosevelt: freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. And this love of freedom has been developed and passed on to us. their descendants. To-day we are united in a war to preserve these freedoms for all nations on the earth.

OUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Where does Ontario obtain coal, radium, iron?
- 2. What would be freight costs on coal coming from Alberta to Ontario?
- 3. How is a French farm in Quebec unlike a Western farm?
- 4. To what extent is electric power sent from one province to another?

- 5. What products are exchanged among the Maritimes, Ontario, the Prairies, Quebec and British Columbia?
- 6. Why is Northern Canada almost uninhabited?
- 7. What is the future of this area?
- 8. How can more rapid communication help understanding?
- 9. To what extent are radio, moving pictures, universities, contributing to Canadian nationhood?

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER III

CANADA AND HER GREAT NEIGHBOURS

Introduction

Friendship and sympathy between the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States is one of the most important construc-

tive movements of our age.

Canada, representative of the British Commonwealth on the North American continent. Canada, as an interpreter of both Great Britain and the United States, is a mixture of both these countries, and has a full understanding of both the British and the Americans.

Canada's Relations with Great Britain

Population 50 per cent of British descent.

We admire the people who fought for democratic institutions, freedom of speech, worship, and personal freedom. All these freedoms

can be enjoyed by people of non-British descent.

Trade—Canada trades with members of the British Commonwealth under a preferential tariff, and Great Britain is her best customer. Canada also buys a large number of products from the United Kingdom.

Cultural Bonds-Language, Literature; British films and radio

broadcasts.

Increased Unity since the War—Canada co-operating with Great Britain on a larger scale than ever before, e.g. increase in size of Canadian Navy, Canadian Army training in Britain, Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

Canada and the United States

The Declaration of Independence—"All men are created equal". We live beside a powerful country; we speak the same language, and have a common Christian faith.

Our disagreements have been settled by arbitration.

Ogdensburg and Hyde Park Agreements

Joint defence on Atlantic and Pacific Seaboards. Exchange of armaments, etc., resulting in increased combined production.

The Invisible Bonds

Magazines, radio, sports, travel, etc.

Joint Defence

On August 18, 1938, President Roosevelt gave an undertaking to defend Canada if attacked. North America has become the arsenal of democracy.

Canada is both British and American

A connecting link between the two. We must be both pro-British and pro-American. Mutual understanding between these three countries gives a clue to what is needed for world co-operation.

Chapter III

CANADA AND HER GREAT NEIGHBOURS

During these war years when so much we thought was permanent has been destroyed, when so many Maginot Lines of the mind have crumbled, all of us have watched with eager hope what is probably the most important constructive movement of our day and age. This movement is, undoubtedly, the evergrowing friendship and sympathy between the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States of America. There have been many signs and mileposts on the road which led to the Atlantic Charter (August, 1941) and the formation of the United Nations (January, 1942).

In the early months of the war, we heard President Roosevelt promising to Britain all the aid within the resources of his vast country, and Congress implementing that promise with the passage of the Lend-Lease Act. We saw endless loads of food moving across the Atlantic to feed the citizens of London, Plymouth, Manchester, Leeds, and of every other front-line fortress in the United Kingdom. We saw fast American bombers speeding across the ocean from Newfoundland, day after day, night after night, building up steadily and deliberately the strength of Britain. We learned of the meeting of Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt on a British battleship in the Atlantic, and heard the terms of the Atlantic Charter, in which both nations pledged mutual assistance in upholding the freedom of mankind against all aggressors. In December, 1941, we saw the United States of America in the war on our side, sharing the common fight against tyranny and slavery, helping to form the alliance known as the United Nations.

Today Canadians watch with a very special interest this effective friendship between the British Commonwealth and the United States. We are especially interested because we occupy a unique position in the relationship—we are the representative of the British Commonwealth on the North American continent. Living as we do, between Great Britain and the United States, we have an extremely rich mixture of both ways of life, and for that reason we are able to understand, as no other people can, both countries. To illustrate what we mean when we say that we have a mixture of both countries, let us look at what we share in common with each country.

CANADA'S RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN

Population

Let us consider our inheritance from Great Britain. In the first place, about fifty per cent of our population is of British descent. This fact alone makes the bond between Canada and Britain a strong one. It means that even though personal interests might seem to point in another direction, Canadians will not sit by idly while Britain is attacked.

Democratic Institutions

But this, important as it is, forms but a small part of the inheritance. Where your ancestors or you were born means nothing in itself. Britain's real legacy to Canada is something greater than the citizens of British descent who live here. What really matters is the way of living which has been learned by a painful process of trial and error over a period of centuries. This is what we admire-not the Englishman's clothes, nor his accent, but the things he has done. We admire the people who fought and won the main battles for most of present day democratic principles. It was in England that Magna Carta was signed; it was in Britain that the Bill of Rights, Habeas Corpus and other charters of liberties were enacted. It was the British people who laid down that parliament, the representatives of the people, and not the King, is supreme and that the government in power must resign if it has lost the confidence of that parliament. The British Parliament is not the oldest but, it is, in every sense, the Mother of Parliaments.

The British people were the first in the civilized world to declare that slavery was a condition under which no man should be allowed or forced to live, whether his colour was black, white, yellow or red. They were the people who first won from their rulers the right to worship as they pleased, to think as they wished, and to say what they thought.

These things are the real inheritance and they are the most permanent, because no bomb or tank or motorized brigade can touch them. And you do not have to be of British descent to share them. In Canada alone, thousands of men and women who trace their ancestry back to France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Scandinavia, Russia, to mention only a few, prove that. This bond of a common heritage has united the people of Canada with those of Britain. This was made quite clear in September, 1939, when the people of Canada were overwhelmingly behind the government as it declared war. We are in it up to the hilt till it is won.

Trade

But this is not all that binds us to Britain. Great Britain is one of our best customers. In the fiscal year 1939, for example, we sent 35·1 per cent of our exports to her, and since the war that amount has increased. We also buy, in considerable quantities, a large number of products from the United Kingdom. This exchange means that Canadians and Britons are in constant touch with each other, overcoming barriers of distance and making for an ever greater friendship.

Cultural Bonds

There are still other contacts we have. We speak the same language. We read the same books. We listen to the same plays. We go to see British motion pictures, such as, "In Which We Serve"; documentary films, such as, "Churchill's Island" and "Next of Kin". Since the war began we have been listening to more broadcasts from Britain. Every day we hear the B.B.C. news, and listen to noted British commentators; occasionally we have the privilege of listening to the Prime Minister himself.

Increased Unity Since the War

Since the outbreak of the war, our connections have tightened immeasurably. We are now co-operating with Great Britain on a larger and more effective scale than at any other time in our history. Think of the Canadian Navy, which, prior to September, 1939, was very small. On January 1, 1943, it had more than 500 ships of all kinds in operation, and many more under construction, with crews being trained. Consider also the Canadian Army Overseas in Great Britain, trained for months to perfect fighting condition, ready either to repel the invader, if he comes, or, when the time is ripe, to invade enemy lands. Look at the Commonwealth Air Training Planborn in December, 1939, with its objective of training 25,000 men a year. It is months ahead of schedule. Thus we find the Canadian Armed Forces prepared and preparing to unite with those of Britain to fight off any invader, and to do it democratically. A lawyer may be a buck private taking orders from an officer who, in civil life, was a manual worker: This is democracy in action. Rank and privilege disappear because they no longer have any meaning when everyone-banker, baker, doctor, and day-labourer, is fighting for the same ideals, for the same beliefs.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

On July 4, 1776, representatives of the 13 colonies in British North America signed a document known as the Declaration of Independence, thereby bringing into existence the first of the modern democratic republics. The second paragraph of that historic paper sets forth in clear and concise manner the real basis of democratic government. We quote a part of it:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. . . ."

Thus our great Southern neighbour is founded upon democratic principles very similar to our own. But there are other factors to be considered as well for they have had an important bearing upon the development of this country. We live beside the greatest economic unit and potentially the most powerful political nation in the history of the world. It is of vital importance that the people of Canada and the United States are largely of a common racial origin, speak the same language, believing the same Christian faith. These common bonds have, for over 125 years, helped us to live at peace with our great neighbour, even though at times we have not agreed on all There have been boundary disputes, always settled by arbitration; trade restrictions, but also trade agreements, such as the Reciprocity Agreements of 1854 and 1935. Tourists and immigrants have been encouraged to travel and visit each others' beauty spots. At other times there have been restrictions and immigration quotas. But, on the whole, there has been a greater degree of co-operation and mutual assistance between these two nations during the past 150 years than most of us realize. Our educational systems are very similar. Control of our international lakes and rivers is vested in an International Commission composed of men from both countries. Even the air waves are apportioned. And since September 1939, rapid strides have been taken in extending this policy.

OGDENSBURG AND HYDE PARK AGREEMENTS

On August 17, 1940, at Ogdensburg, in the State of New York, a joint statement was issued by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada which later became known as the Ogdensburg Agreement. That agreement meant that wherever there arose a problem of joint defence, on the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards, for example, Canada and the United States would co-operate. We have agreed to pool our resources and our brain-power to make the shores of the Atlantic and Pacific safe against the attack of any possible aggressor or combination of aggressors. Nor is there anything temporary about this. In the words of our own Prime Minister it is "part of the enduring foundation of a new world order, based on friendship and goodwill".

In the spring of 1941 another stone was laid to that foundation. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. King had a talk at the President's Hyde Park home, and out of that emerged another agreement—this time about the production of arms and military supplies. Now when America needs certain kinds of armament which she finds difficult to produce, but which she can get quite easily from Canada, she will get them from Canada. Likewise, when Canada needs products for her defence which she can get from the United States more quickly and more cheaply than she can make them herself, she will get them from the United States.

THE INVISIBLE BONDS

The above are what we might call visible bonds that tie us in friendship and understanding with the United States. But there are other bonds as well—the ones we cannot see—and just for that reason they are probably the strongest and most important of all. Some of the connections are so obvious that we rarely notice them. Many of the magazines we read are American; we listen to American radio programs, we get just as excited as they do about the standings in the same hockey and baseball leagues; and most of the films we see are made in Hollywood. We live very much as the Americans live.

JOINT DEFENCE

The Ogdensburg Agreement and the Hyde Park Declaration are the culmination of a series of conversations between the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Canada. Similarly, on August 18, 1938, at Kingston, Ontario, on the occasion of the opening of the Thousand Islands Bridge, Mr. Roosevelt made this important announcement:

"The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other

Such a statement of assurance by a powerful nation to another of relatively small population might tend to cause a less spirited youth than Canada's to be lulled into a spirit of complacency. However, Canadian youth recognized the spirit in which this statement was made and thousands of Canadian youths, spurred by this additional gesture of neighbourliness, joined the ranks and were there ready to welcome their American brothers when the United States of America formally entered the war.

North America, a Great Arsenal

And the United States had made good her promise. Take a magic-carpet trip over her surface and what do you see? In the east, in Pittsburgh and in Bethlehem, hundreds of furnaces belching forth great sheets of flame, lighting up the countryside for miles around at night. This is steel in the making, steel from the largest producer in the world. Armour-plate for battleships and tanks; light-steel alloys for bombers and fighters; heavy steel barrels for cannon. Then to Springfield, where hundreds of rifles each day stream out of the factory; and to Hartford, to watch thirty thousand men working in one building, constructing with all their speed and skill, powerful engines for the planes that take off every day from Newfoundland for England. Now to Detroit where the tanks and army trucks are rolling off the assembly lines. And if you want to see an airplane factory, look almost anywhere—everywhere they are springing up like mushrooms. That arsenal stretches over into Canada to plants in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, Windsor, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Through the Hyde Park Agreement, North America has become one arsenal—the arsenal for democracy. The Axis powers, due to a prepared and utterly treacherous headstart, may win some more victories. We must face that fact. But one of the things they cannot get away from is the industrial power of the United States and Canada. Even now the hum of these factories is dinning into their ears like the trumpet of doom. Before we are through that hum will grow into a deafening roar, and nothing in the world will be able to stand in the way of our advance.

CANADA IS BOTH BRITISH AND AMERICAN

Canada is, of course, first of all herself. But, as the centre of understanding between Britain and America, Canada can play a part greatly out of proportion to her population. Because she is British and American at the same time, Canada is

in a better position than any other country to explain to the Americans what the British think and feel, and vice-versa. Winston Churchill saw this many years ago when he said:

"Canada is a magnet exercising double attraction, drawing both Great Britain and the United States towards herself and thus drawing them closer to each other. She is the only surviving bond which stretches from Europe across the Atlantic Ocean. In fact, no state, no country, no band of men can more truly be described as the linchpin of peace and world progress."

This is the Key to World Co-operation

Canada must work with every ounce of her young energy, not only to promote a proper understanding between Britain and America, but to preserve it after the peace. We in Canada can no longer afford to be either pro-British or pro-American; we must be both. We must recognize that only through the cooperation and friendship of a greater number of nations can a better world be built. That is the key to order and peace in the world to-day. Nations like Germany, Japan and Italy broke the peace that followed the first Great War by refusing to work for this very thing. They thought they could plunder and pillage small nations and get away with it. For nearly ten years they did get away with it because the democratic nations such as England, France, the United States and Canada failed to see, until war broke out, that the only hope for peace lay in

co-operation.

The world is too small now and too inter-dependent for isolation. It is actually true that what happens in China to-day will affect us in Canada to-morrow. We did not realize this truth when Japan attacked Manchuria, or when Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia. We have to get this truth into our heads. We saw in the Ogdensburg Agreement, the Hyde Park Declaration and the Lend-Lease Bill some realization of this truth. We saw the United States turning herself into what President Roosevelt called "the arsenal of democracy". Following the treacherous attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941, came the strongest possible proof that the freedomloving nations of the world now realize the need for the fullest co-operation. For, when the United States declared war on Japan, Great Britain and the sister members of the British Commonwealth immediately declared war on her, and the United States in turn declared war on Britain's enemies in Germany and Italy. And on January 1, 1942, 26 "free" nations signed the document which formed the alliance of the United Nations, pledging themselves to complete co-operation in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

37

Love of Freedom is the Bond

Behind the peoples of North America and those of Britain, her allies, and her other overseas dominions, lies a force greater than the force of arms, greater than the factories and bombers and armies of Nazi Germany and her evil partners in aggression. This force is the force of freedom—freedom to speak one's mind, freedom to worship one's God, freedom to work and to eat, freedom to be happy. This force is drawing men together. It is an idea which is as old as the first written word. It is an idea which is as young and as strong as our own country. It is the idea which is behind and beneath the stark courage of the common people of Britain to-day. It was sympathy for Britain and belief in her ideals and the cause for which she fights that created the Anglo-American understanding.

This spirit of mutual understanding between one hundred and forty-two million freedom-loving people in North America and forty-six million in Britain and Northern Ireland, determined that force shall not rule this world, is the bond that binds them together. In that bond can be seen the fabric of world co-operation.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Why did the American attitude toward the war change between September, 1939, and September, 1941?
- 2. Prior to this lecture, have you ever thought about the Ogdensburg Agreement or the Hyde Park Declaration? What future effect do you think such declarations will have?
- 3. How can Canadians best play their part in promoting and maintaining understanding between Britain and America?

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER IV

CANADA'S ARMED FORCES

I. The Navy

The Task

Safe conduct of convoys in the North Atlantic. Share in escort in landing in North Africa. Manning landing craft in this landing.

The Ships

Growth from 15 ships at outbreak of war to 550 ships all types this year-36-fold increase, and still growing.

The Corvette—built for U-boat fighting, shallow draft, speedy, tough

of prow, sturdy.

cruisers, etc.

Tribal Class Destroyers, manned by Canadians and serving with the Royal Navy. River Class Destroyers from R.N. used in escort duty by R.C.N.

The Frigate-between Corvette and Destroyer. Same fire power as Corvette but greater range and room for crew of more than 100.

Minesweepers-carry guns and depth charges; fight as well as do duty as Minesweepers.

Fairmile—wooden ship, speedier than Corvette; used in coastal

waters. Also patrol craft, auxiliary vessels, motor launches, auxiliary

The Men

Strength of 64,000 in June, 1943.

Training: 6 months' training for lowest rating and 14 months for fully trained naval artisan. Trained at (18) R.C.N.V.R. Divisions; at (17) naval bases and training schools; at Technical schools and universities and on ships.

Officer Training: An officer works his way up from the lower deck after at least 6 months as rating. Officer training is at H.M.C.S. "King's" at Halifax.

II. The Army

The Task

Manning strategic defence areas in North America, holding the bastion of England against invasion, training for eventual assault.

The Formations

The Army of two Corps overseas. Operational troops in Canada. Home War Establishment. Reinforcement stream. Veterans' Guard and Canadian Women's Army Corps. Reserve Army.

Royal Canadian Army Cadets.

The Men

Strength 450,000 with 200,000 overseas. Training through Basic and Corps.

Training centres to operational units and special training such as commando schools.

Tested under fire at Hong Kong and Dieppe.

SUMMARY—CHAPTER IV—Concluded

III. The Air Force

The Task

Air fighting in all its forms and in all war theatres. Training air personnel in the Commonwealth Air Training Plan.

The Part Played

32 R.C.A.F. squadrons organized overseas.
25 per cent of R.A.F. flying strength Canadian.
Bomber Group Coastal Reconnaissance
Fighter Squadrons Torpedo Bombers
Army Co-operation Squadrons Night Fighters
British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.
Canadian casualties occurred in 72 squadrons in January, 1943.

The Men

Strength 1939—4,000; 1943—180,000. 40.000 R.C.A.F. personnel sent overseas from air schools in Canada. Ratio R.C.A.F. personnel to Canadians in R.A.F. is as 1 to 11.

Chapter IV

CANADA'S ARMED FORCES

I. THE NAVY

"While the U-boat danger is still the greatest we face, I have confidence that it will be met, contained and overcome."

Prime Minister Winston Churchill at Washington, May 19, 1943.

Lines of communication and supply are of vital importance in war. Short supply and communication lines make the conduct of a campaign more efficient and less complicated. The United Nations in this war have been at a disadvantage in this regard. Guarding the long, vulnerable sealanes from the New World to the Old, has been perhaps the most difficult problem the allies have had to face.

In 1940, after the fall of France, the British Navy alone became responsible for all the work of convoy in the Atlantic, and the whole ocean had become a submarine theatre. The Royal Navy and the R.A.F. had, along with all their other tasks, the work of driving the U-boats back from the approaches to the United Kingdom. It was at this crucial time, when the winning of the war seemed to be in grave doubt, that, in the words of Admiral Sir Percy Noble, then Commander of the Western Approaches:

"The Canadian Navy sailed into the breach. The expansion of the Canadian Navy solved the problem of Atlantic convoys."

Canada and Great Britain are now responsible for the safe conduct of all the convoys which travel the vital North Atlantic route. Rear Admiral L. W. Murray, R.C.N., has been appointed Commander-in-Chief, Canadian Northwest Atlantic, thus becoming the first Canadian Commander-in-Chief in this conflict to assume the operational direction of a vital war area in which the enemy is being actively engaged. His position is the counterpart of the Commander-in-Chief, Western Approaches, in the United Kingdom.

Canada has taken a substantial part in escorting the more than 13,000 merchant vessels which have carried more than 77,000,000 deadweight tons of shipping from North America to the United Kingdom since the war began.

Since the outbreak of war, when it had 15 ships, the Canadian Navy's strength has increased 36-fold to more than 550 ships of all types. During the fiscal year ended March 31, 1943, it was planned to add about 100 ships, but 150 actually were added. This year it is planned to add some 70 fighting ships, besides others of non-combat types.

Backbone of the Canadian Navy is the corvette, a vessel built somewhat on the lines of the whaling ship. The corvette is built for U-boat fighting, the R.C.N.'s main job. Shallow of draft, so that it makes a poor target for a torpedo, tough of prow and speedy, so it can flash in and ram a surfaced U-boat before it has time to submerge, sturdy enough to stand up to wild North Atlantic gales and the blistering heat of the tropics, the corvette is the pride of Canadian sailors. Three corvettes can be built in the time it takes to build a destroyer, and they can be built on the Great Lakes and taken down to the sea over the Great Lakes canal and river system, which destroyers can not. There are more than 70 corvettes in the Royal Canadian Navy, and many others have been built for the British Navy.

R.C.N. corvettes have given a good account of themselves in battle. In recent months they have sunk at least three undersea craft in the Mediterranean. When the great Allied armada moved in on North Africa last year, 17 Canadian corvettes were among the escort ships. Canadian sailors manned landing craft carrying the doughboys through the surf to African beaches. In the attack on Oran, six Canadian landing flotillas transported American troops and equipment, going in under fire in the pitch darkness.

Canada is building up a flotilla of tribal class destroyers, to be manned by Canadians and assigned for service with the British fleet. Two Canadian tribal class destroyers were completed in British yards in 1942, and are already serving with the Royal Navy. Two others now are being built in the same yards, others in Canada. As completed, they will be manned by the R.C.N. and join the British fleet until eventually Canada has a flotilla of eight Tribal class destroyers serving with the Royal Navy. The Royal Navy in its turn has placed four of its escort destroyers at the disposal of the R.C.N. These destroyers, which are of the River class, have been renamed Ottawa, Gatineau, Kootenay and Saskatchewan.

The frigate, a new type of warship between the corvette and the destroyer, is coming into use in the Canadian navy. It is larger, has more speed, and a greater range than the corvette, and has greater accommodation for the crew. It has about the same fire power as the corvette and carries a crew of more than 100 men.

There are almost as many minesweepers in the R.C.N. as corvettes. Minesweepers carry guns, and depth charges, and often perform much the same work as corvettes in addition to their duties of sweeping up and destroying mines. Like the corvette, the minesweeper carries a crew of more than 50 men.

The fairmile is a wooden ship, speedier than a corvette and suitable principally to coastal waters such as the St. Lawrence River and Gulf, the Bristol Channel, the Irish Sea or the English Channel. It carries guns and depth charges.

The R.C.N. also has various patrol craft and auxiliary vessels, motor launches, auxiliary cruisers and other vessels. There are about 50 ships in the fishermen's reserve engaged in patrol and minesweeping operations along the west coast.

Personnel serving in the navy has multiplied many times since the war began, with strength in June this year of over 64,000, or about 40 times what it was at the outbreak of war. Strength of the navy at March 31, 1942, was 31,000, and it was planned to take in men at about 1,000 a month; instead, the rate of personnel intake was about twice what had been expected. If the present rate of growth is maintained, the R.C.N. will number about 90,000 by the end of next year, or about the same strength as the British Navy of pre-war days.

To qualify as an officer in the R.C.N., other than in the special branches, a man must work his way up from the lower deck. Prior to February of this year a certain number of executive officers was taken directly into the navy as officers, but the prospective officer now must enter the service as an ordinary seaman and must have at least six months' training as a rating of which about half must be served at sea.

If at the end of six months' service as an ordinary seaman a rating is considered worthy of a commission, he is commissioned as a probationary sub-lieutenant and sent to H.M.C.S. King's, the R.C.N. training school for officers at Halifax, Nova Scotia. University naval training divisions are being established at several universities across Canada, which will correspond to Canadian officers' training corps establishments of the Army. Preliminary instruction will be given during the academic year, and during the summer months a two-weeks' training course

will be provided on each coast. Students who enrol in these courses will be on divisional strength of the volunteer reserve division nearest to the university.

Naval ratings are trained at R.C.N. Volunteer Reserve divisions, of which there are 18 throughout Canada; at naval bases and training schools, of which there are 17, in technical schools and universities, and on ships. It requires about six months training for a man to qualify for the lowest rating and about 14 months to train fully a naval artisan.

There are 29 different jobs to which a naval recruit may be assigned or promoted. Men with trade experience—plumbers, painters, blacksmiths, electricians, cooks—and men with stenographic, banking or accounting knowledge readily find a place in the Canadian Navy.

In addition to the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service, there are three personnel components of the Canadian Navy: The Royal Canadian Navy, the Royal Canadian Naval Reserve and the Royal Canadian Naval Volunteer Reserve. The R.C.N. is the permanent core of the organization. The R.C.N.R. is composed of persons who have followed the sea as a profession. The R.C.N.V.R. is made up of civilians who, in peace-time, were not employed in occupations connected with the sea, but who have been given training to serve afloat.

The following decorations were awarded to R.C.N. personnel up to 4th May, 1943:

,,,	
Companion of the Order of the Bath	1
Distinguished Service Order	5
Order of the British Empire	- 11
Companion of the Order of the British Empire	1
Member of the Order of the British Empire	8
Distinguished Service Cross	36
Distinguished Service Cross and Bar	1
Distinguished Service Medal	26
British Empire Medal	9
Conspicuous Gallantry Medal	1
George Medal	
George Medal and Bar	2
Medal of the Order of the British Empire	6
Cross of Valour (Polish)	4
Norwegian War Medal	1
Albert Medal	î.
Mentioned in Despatches	
Commendations	13
Testimonial	1
King's Dirk	1

II. THE ARMY

Before the outbreak of war, Canada's Army was small. It consisted of about 4,500 regular army personnel and a number of militia units of various strengths. This was the nucleus around which Canada's Army of to-day developed. At the outbreak of war the permanent force officers and other ranks had to direct the training and administration of active units as they were organized and take important posts in these units as they proceeded overseas. The officers and men of the militia soon set aside their peace-time occupations and devoted their full time to training for war.

The strength of the Canadian Army is now more than 450,000, of which there are over 200,000 in Britain and 250,000 in training or on duty in North America. Canadian troops are located in strategic defence areas in Newfoundland, Labrador, Alaska and islands adjacent to the West Indies and the east coast of the United States. These troops are coast artillery units, antiaircraft units, engineer detachments, signal companies and infantry battalions with supporting services.

The Army in Canada is the foundation of the overseas organization, in the sense that these troops provide reinforcements, operate the army training schools in Canada, and are responsible for army administration. The 250,000 Canadian troops in the North American area may be divided roughly into three groups of 80,000 each, classed as operational troops, troops in home war establishments and those undergoing training.

The operational troops defend naval bases, airdromes and ports on the Canadian coasts and vital areas inland. Troops of the home war establishments include the administrative staffs of National Defence Headquarters at Ottawa and the Military Districts and Coastal Commands, staffs of the 87 army training centres and schools across Canada, of the Veterans' Guard engaged in guarding internment camps and various service troops. The 80,000 troops undergoing training are those who actually are receiving training for service in Canada and Overseas.

All Canadian Army training is closely co-ordinated with that of Britain and the United States. Training in Canada is integrated with training in Britain and there is an extensive two-way exchange of officers between the Canadian Army in Britain and the Canadian Army in Canada.

One new formation is the Pacific Coast Militia Rangers distributed on the West Coast to meet enemy raids and engage them until the arrival of army mobile units.

At a West Coast training centre Canadian soldiers are taught the latest developments in commando tactics. When the course is completed, they are sent back to their units with a good elementary knowledge of this type of warfare.

Reserve units of the army are formed in 11 brigade groups across the Dominion, equivalent to four divisions. A brigade group in each of the 11 military districts is under the command of the full time commander of the Active Army. These Reserve units are provided with the most modern weapons and they are given regular weekly training periods, as well as an annual training period in camp.

The Veterans' Guard of Canada is composed of men who served with the armed forces of the Empire during the First Great War and are not over 55 years of age. These men are members of the Active Army, liable to service anywhere, at home or abroad. More than 10,000 veterans are now in this service. Guarding prisoners of war is one of their major tasks. Also, they protect important buildings and vital defence points in Canada, the United Kingdom, Newfoundland, and the West Indies. Members of the Veterans' Guard take turns at overseas service, being replaced by other members of the Guard at intervals of from six months to a year.

Over 9,500 of Canada's young women have joined the Canadian Women's Army Corps and are rendering valuable service in many departments of the army-both in Canada and Overseas. They are serving in many army posts so that men can be released for combatant service.

Membership in the Royal Canadian Army Cadets has grown from 76,000 in 1939 to 96,000 in 1942. The syllabus of training of Army Cadets has been revised following the announcement that His Majesty the King has become Colonel-in-Chief of the organization. Instruction will be given in small arms, signalling and skiing. Camps for summer months have been organized. Cadets will be taught citizenship, civilian protection, health education, physical training, map reading, basic military training, radio, and elementary military subjects such as fieldcraft, camperaft, woodcraft and field engineering. Senior Cadets must be 15 years of age at September 1 of the current school year. Juniors are admitted from 12 to 14.

On December 17, 1939, the first contingent of the First Canadian Division arrived in Britain. Accompanying it was the Commander of the First Division, Major-General (now Lieutenant-General) A. G. L. McNaughton—later to command the Canadian Army Overseas.

The Canadian Army Overseas is made up of two corps, one of three infantry divisions, the other of two armoured divisons. Besides these, there are large numbers of ancillary or corps troops. Corps troops are concerned with communications, repairs to equipment, transport of supplies, medical and hospital services and many other functions. The Canadian Army has more than 170 of these units mobilized in Canada and England.

For the past three and a half years the task assigned to the Canadian Army Overseas has been to hold the bastion of England against invasion. Hard training and keeping pace with the constantly changing methods of modern warfare have kept the army in fighting trim during those years.

After Dunkirk the Canadian Army was the only force in Britain trained and equipped to meet the enemy. In the words of Mr. Churchill at Ottawa:

"The Canadian Army now stationed in England has chafed not to find itself in contact with the enemy, but... it stood and still stands in the key position to strike at the invader should he land upon our shores."

Before French resistance collapsed in 1940, Canadian troops had actually landed in France ready to go into battle but were recalled without going into action.

Canadians have taken part in two land engagements in this war; at Dieppe on August 19, 1942, and Hong Kong on December 7, 1941. There were nearly 2,000 Canadian soldiers at Hong Kong. All were killed or taken prisoners when the fortress fell on December 25, 1941.

Canadian forces formed five-sixths of the United Nations troops at Dieppe. Of the Canadian soldiers engaged, more than 3,350 were killed, wounded or made prisoners of war. This raid, which took place on August 19, 1942, has become a handbook in connection with landing operations, and every possible lesson which could be learned is being extracted from it for future use in the prosecution of the war. Already in the North African landings the experience of Dieppe has proved extremely valuable. Many stories of Canadian heroism came out of Dieppe—stories of such men as Lt.-Col. C. C. Merritt, first Canadian to win the V.C. in this war, and Lt.-Col. Dollard Menard, gallant young commander of Les Fusiliers Mont Royal.

Personnel of the Canadian Army have won the following decorations up to June 3, 1943:

Victoria Cross	1
George Cross	2
Companion of the Bath	10
Commander of the Order of the British Empire	12
Distinguished Service Order	13
Officer British Empire	42
Member British Empire	99
Royal Red Cross (First Class)	8
Military Cross	19
Royal Red Cross (Second Class)	15
Distinguished Conduct Medal	13
Military Medal	50
George Medal	4
British Empire Medal	71
Mentioned in Despatches	92
Brought to notice in Orders	1
Commendations	65
Belgian Military Cross (First Class)	10
Belgian Military Cross (Second Class)	2
Belgian Decoration	2
_	
TOTAL	531

III. THE AIR FORCE

Flying has made a great appeal to a young country. And many young Canadians have answered it. From a force of 4,000 officers and men at the outbreak of war, the Royal Canadian Air Force has increased until it now numbers over 180,000.

Canada is the fourth strongest air power among the United Nations. There are 32 specifically R.C.A.F. squadrons already organized overseas, and six squadrons being organized. Besides R.C.A.F. personnel serving in these squadrons, air crew of the Royal Canadian Air Force serving with the Royal Air Force squadrons form 25 per cent of R.A.F. flying strength.

On January 1, 1943, the first Canadian bomber group came into being, consolidating a number of R.C.A.F. squadrons formerly operating under R.A.F. Command. The new Group is staffed by R.C.A.F. officers and men of wide experience in aerial warfare. Five members of the first Canadian bomber squadron are members of headquarters staff. Since its inception, the Canadian bomber group, operating under the strategic direction of the R.A.F., has participated in every big raid of Bomber Command's mounting European offensive.

Canadian fighter squadrons have been in Britain since early in the war. One fighter squadron and two Army co-operation

squadrons arrived in Britain early in 1940. No. 1 R.C.A.F. Fighter Squadron, flying Canadian-built Hurricanes, fought through the heroic months of August and September, 1940—the days of the Battle of Britain. The Army co-operation squadrons were attached to the R.A.F., but an agreement was made between the Canadian Defence Minister and Air Ministry officials that, when the Canadians in Britain went into action, the Canadian Army co-operation squadrons would go with them. This promise was fulfilled when part of the cover over Dieppe was furnished by three Canadian Army co-operation squadrons.

From the beginning it was evident that Canada had two roles to play in the war in the air. Canada wanted to put a strong air force on the fighting front as soon as possible, but Canada also occupied an excellent position to be the training ground for all the air force personnel of the British Commonwealth. Canada was perhaps the least likely of any member of the Commonwealth to be attacked; the student airman could learn to fly in the peaceful air of Canada and run no risk meeting a well-armed enemy while piloting training aircraft.

Especially during the early days of the war, when the training organization which was set up had not yet begun to produce air crew, when the small and gallant band of the R.A.F. appeared to be in desperate need of help, there was a great temptation to scrap the whole long range planning idea and concentrate on bringing into action the most machines and the most trained men as soon as possible. But the R.A.F. and R.C.A.F. held to the view that ten or a hundred flyers later were better than one then. The viewpoint was vindicated. The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan has been a greater success than had been hoped for.

Although the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan is essentially Canadian, young men from all the United Nations learn the art of air combat in the schools of the plan. Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, recently spoke of the respect and understanding growing out of this "greater comradeship of the air":

"These young pilots may be the best ambassadors of the future. If we can only capture and keep the spirit which they have learned in these schools there is no international problem which we cannot resolve."

An ever-growing proportion of all air crew required to man the planes on the fighting fronts is trained in the B.C.A.T.P. The more than 50,000 air crew trained in the plan would be more than enough to man 15,000 combat planes. Peak production of air crew on a monthly basis will not be reached for several months.

A joint enterprise of the Canadian, Australian, New Zealand and United Kingdom Governments, it is administered by the R.C.A.F., and 60 per cent of the graduates are Canadians.

The plan is based on a proposal made to the Governments of Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom on September 26, 1939, to set up a common air training system. The proposal was accepted in principle by the Canadian Government on September 28. The first agreement was signed on December 17, 1939, the same day the first contingent of the Canadian Army landed in Britain. Immediately the great project of building airfields and training instructors began.

Eight elementary flying training schools were opened in June and July of 1940. First recruits—50 pilots, 44 observers and 75 wireless operators—reported for duty on April 29, 1940. On October 28, 1940, the first pupils were graduated and arrived in Britain the next month.

All the schools of the plan were to be in operation during 1942. On December 15, 1941, two days before the second birthday of the B.C.A.T.P., the final school was opened, beating the time limit by many months.

Under the original agreement Canada paid more than \$600,000,000 of the total \$900,000,000. This original agreement was intended to continue until March, 1943, but a new agreement was signed on June 5, 1942. It became effective July 1, 1942, and operates to March 31, 1945. Under the new agreement the plan is considerably enlarged. It will cost \$1,500,000,000, 50 per cent of which will be paid by Canada. The United Kingdom will pay the remaining 50 per cent, less deductions representing payments made by New Zealand and Australia for the cost of training air crew.

The average miles flown each day in the plan, 2,006,626, is a distance equal to 80 times around the earth at the equator. The total miles flown in March, 1943, were 62,205,415, a distance equal to 260 trips to the moon. The cumulative number of miles flown in the plan from its inception to March, 1943, totalled 6,588,098,593, equal to 71 trips to the sun.

The most interesting statistics concerning the plan are the numbers of airmen produced. More than 40,000 R.C.A.F. personnel have been sent overseas from the air schools in Canada. For every R.C.A.F. air crew member in a R.C.A.F. unit overseas there are now 11 R.C.A.F. air crew members in R.A.F. units overseas. Air Marshal Harold Edwards, C.B., Air Officer Com-

manding-in-Chief of the R.C.A.F. Overseas, has stated that the proportion of R.C.A.F. to R.A.F. will increase rapidly from now on. As an indication of the dispersal of Canadians in the R.A.F. and elsewhere—during January, 1943, Canadian casualties occurred in 72 squadrons and from February to May there were Canadian casualties in 168 squadrons.

R.C.A.F. squadrons overseas include heavy and medium bombers, coastal reconnaissance, torpedo bombers, night fighters,

intruders and army co-operation squadrons.

Canadian Army co-operation squadrons have gained particular fame from their prowess as "engine busters". One such squadron shot up seven locomotives in one day in November, to make a total of 24 engines in three weeks. These blows are most damaging to the German economy, which is dependent on

transportation by land.

Combined blows of the Canadian, British and United States train-busters are smashing locomotives in Europe at the rate of 150 each month. The largest locomotive plant in Europe, the Fives-Lille in Northern France, has a top production capacity of 100 locomotives a year, and there is reason to believe that the plant, which has been the target of persistent Allied bombing, is not producing at anything like peak capacity. In March, Allied fighter planes alone knocked out nearly 100 locomotives, and railway targets were hit on 21 of 31 days.

While the spotlight on the European air war has shifted from fighter to bomber squadrons, fighter squadrons are an integral part of every bombing attack, and planes of the R.C.A.F. fighter wing are daily busy with the important business of defending the heavy bombers of the R.A.F., R.C.A.F. and U.S.A.A.F. from

attack.

Canadian airmen have been in the African campaign since the beginning and recently they had the pleasure of joining in the aerial thrusts which had much to do with finishing off the Axis armies in that battle theatre. About 2,000 Canadian fliers have been fighting over the Middle Eastern Deserts for many months. When all objectives on the African continent had been attained, the allied airmen pressed forward. Many Canadians made up the crews of bombers, fighters and fighter bombers which forced the surrender of the island fortress of Pantelleria.

Western hemisphere units of the R.C.A.F. are vital components of the offensive and defensive structure of the United Nations. They include fighter squadrons in the Aleutians and on the North Pacific Coast, anti-submarine and convoy patrol squadrons on the East Coast. They play a vital part in the preservation of the lifeline of supply and transport in the North

Atlantic, as well as the protection of Canadian coastal and vulnerable areas from enemy attack.

Home war squadrons and stations have their own personnel, engaged in operational duties only. They have no connection with the work of the Air Training Plan. They include all types of personnel, necessary to carry on air warfare—radio men, observers, pilots, equipment men, air gunners, technicians of all categories, making up a completely integrated service. The average strength of the home war establishment during 1942-43 was approximately 23,500; during the fiscal year 1943-44 it is expected that the strength will number 35,000, all ranks. All this R.C.A.F. personnel is completely interchangeable with the R.C.A.F. overseas.

During 1942 Eastern Air Command anti-submarine patrols flew over 5,000,000 miles, escorting over 12,000 sailings of vessels. Of the number of ships sunk within 300 miles of the Canadian coast, less than 3 per cent were sunk while escorted by the R.C.A.F. While engaged in air escort duty, squadrons made 43 attacks on U-boats to the middle of May, 1943; from the end of February to May 21, 1943, aircraft of the Eastern Air Command made 14 attacks on enemy submarines in the Atlantic.

Indicative of the importance which the R.C.A.F. attaches to guarding the Canadian coastal area is the fact that, with the appointment of Air Vice-Marshal Johnson in May of 1943, responsibility for the Eastern Air Command was vested in an Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief instead of the previous Air Officer Commanding.

Royal Canadian Air Force awards to June, 1943, have been as follows:

.0 11 5 .
George Cross 1
Distinguished Service Urder.
Associate of the Koval Red Cross
Distinguished Fiving Cross 224
Dar to Distinguished Flying Cross
Air Force Cross
Conspicuous Gallantry Medal
Distinguished Flying Medal 200
All Torce Medal
George Medal
Dritish Empire Medal
United States Distinguished Flying Cross
United States Army Air Medal
Czech Williary Cross.
Czech Megal for Valour
Mentioned in Despatches
Commendations
Canadian Efficiency Medal
TOTAL 846

IV. WOMEN IN THE SERVICES

More than 29,600 Canadian women were wearing uniforms of Canada's armed services by the end of June, 1943. The Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service, the Canadian Women's Army Corps, and the Royal Canadian Air Force (Women's Division) have set a combined enlistment quota of 50,000 for December 1943.

The youngest women's service organized to release men for more active duties, the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service, had attested 3,104 officers and ratings and called up 2,396 by June 26, 1943, one year after its establishment. Officer members of the W.R.C.N.S. now hold the same rank titles as men of the R.C.N. and are referred to as commander, lieutenant-commander, lieutenant and sub-lieutenant instead of the previous counterpart chief officer, first officer, second officer and third officer.

The Canadian Women's Army Corps was the first women's service to use the same rank titles as men. Formed in September, 1941, the C.W.A.C. had enlisted more than 12,000 by the end of June.

The Royal Canadian Air Force (Women's Division) was the first women's service established, in July, 1941, and had enlisted more than 12,300 by the end of June.

Women in nursing services uniforms totalled more than 2,159 at the end of June, with more than 1,714 in the Royal Canadian Army Medical Corps, 276 in the R.C.A.F. Nursing Service and 169 in the Canadian Navy Nursing Service. There are also about 255 Canadian nurses serving with the South Africa Military Nursing Service.

There are 37 women doctors in the armed services, as at the end of June, 4 in the navy, 21 in the army, and 12 in the air force.

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER V

OUR ALLIES

The Changing Line-up

Losses-France, Poland, Holland, Norway, Yugoslavia (forced out of active war).

Gains-Russia, United States, China, the exiled governments and armies of our occupied allies, the guerillas and the sixth column in the occupied countries.

Russia

Geography—size—population.

One-sixth land surface of globe.
One hundred and eighty-three million people—many nationalities.
International Relations.

Lack of ice-free ports. Attempts to gain those ports. Attitude in League of Nations.

Russo-German pact, 1939,—to put a first line of defence against future German attack.

Russia becomes our Ally. Hitler's desire for Ukraine. Hitler's anti-communism.

Russian preparations for German attack—factories moved beyond Urals-reorganization of defences and armed services.

Russia's war aims.

Total war.

Quotations from Stalin, Harriman, Ehrenberg.

China

Geography—position—size—population—civilization—old, yet modern in some aspects.

The philosophy of Confucius, Mo Ti, Mencius—all are democratic. Weakness—tendency to disunity and lack of responsibility compared with Japanese.

China is really democratic. China as a united nation—the work of General Chiang Kai-shek and Madam Chiang Kai-shek.

Our Allies in Exile

France-Polish contributions—air force. Norwegians—ships. Netherlands-battle fleet. Belgium-

The Guerillas

The importance of these forces. The Chetniks in Yugoslavia. In China-saving China.

In Russia—example of typical methods of attack.

The Silent Army

The Sixth Column in the occupied lands. How it operates—the Commando raid on St. Nazaire, March, 1942.

Chapter V

OUR ALLIES

I. THE CHANGING LINE-UP

Our Losses

Since war was declared in September, 1939, there have been many changes in the composition of the opposing forces. Many European countries which at first opposed the German hordes have been overrun and their governments compelled to surrender or go into exile. France, which at first appeared to be Great Britain's strongest partner in opposition to aggression, failed to withstand the German might, and was forced to surrender. Poland, Norway, Belgium, Holland, Yugoslavia and Greece are under the domination of Nazi barbarism. But their "Free" governments continue to fight bravely, even in exile, with the British Commonwealth. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa stood by Britain, which had become the island fortress of democracy.

Our Gains

We have gained great allies, one at least at the expense of the enemy. The signing of the Russo-German Pact in August, 1939, cleared the way for the German attack on Poland, and placed Russia temporarily on the German side. But Hitler's invasion of Russia in June, 1941, has put the tremendous power of the U.S.S.R. on our side. From the outbreak of the war to the attack on Pearl Harbour, President Roosevelt provided brilliant leadership in a gradual American withdrawal from a position of isolationism to greater and greater co-operation, culminating in an open alliance with the Allied Nations at the entry of the United States into the war. China has been fighting the Japanese since 1937, and has gladly joined forces with the United Nations in what has become a world war.

Thus, besides the nations of the British Commonwealth and the United States we have other strong allies. We now propose to refer to them briefly and to mention the marvellous contribution they all are making to the cause of freedom and civilization.

II. RUSSIA

Introduction

Whether you look at Russia on a map of the world, or visit the country itself, the first and most lasting impression you get is one of tremendous size, sheer bigness. Its area was 8,819,791 square miles before June, 1941, compared with 3,700,000 for Canada, about one-sixth of the land area of the globe. Within Russian boundaries are found the widest ranges of climate and resources. In Western Russia you are in Europe, with a well-developed industrial and agricultural population; in Eastern Russia you are in Asia, with a medieval nomadic, tribal organization. It is a fact, too, that the U.S.S.R. has the largest predominantly white population included under one governing body, but these 183,000,000 people are not by any means, all Russians. An early census of the U.S.S.R. listed 182 different peoples, speaking 149 different languages.

International Relations

Russia possesses a tremendously long coast line, but has very few available seaports. Vladivostock on the Pacific, and Archangel and Murmansk on the Arctic, even if all three were open all year, would still be at a disadvantage; they are so far removed from the centres of population that railway lines are very expensive to build and to operate. Yet those are the only ports which are not under direct threat of control by an unfriendly state. The ports on the Baltic can be rendered practically useless, as they now are, when an enemy controls the Skagerrak. On the Black Sea, a hostile nation or government in Constantinople would effectively block the Straits of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles. Thus it has been Russian policy in her international relations to try, by any or all means, to secure and maintain ice-free ports. In furtherance of this policy, she has, during the past two centuries, fought wars with the Baltic States, such as Finland and Sweden, and with Turkey; she has shared in the partitions of Poland with Prussia and Austria; and she has made alliances with her former foes. It was the fear of German extension to the east that brought Russia into the Great War (1914-1918) on the allied side. It is not surprising, therefore, that Russia viewed with alarm the growing power of Germany under Hitler. Having read "Mein Kampf" and learned of Hitler's intentions to look for more "living space" for the chosen German people, Russian diplomats. when admitted to the Councils of the League of Nations, were strong advocates of the principle of collective security. Nor is it surprising that, when Russia was rebuffed by certain countries at the League and felt that no collective action would

be taken to prevent aggression by Germany, her Government signed a Pact with Germany (1939) and shared again in the partition of Poland. There was bitter denunciation of her actions by people in all the democratic countries at that time; but in the light of what has happened since it would seem that Russia had correctly estimated the Hitler tactics, and was only acting then to gain time and to put a first line of defence against Germany outside Russian boundaries.

Russia becomes our Ally

From the time of its birth to the time of the Russo-German Pact in August, 1939, the Nazi Party in Germany was openly and violently opposed to the U.S.S.R. The pages of Hitler's "Mein Kampf" are crowded with vituperations against the Soviet economic system. Many times in his radio speeches to the "encircled" German people, the Fuehrer spoke of the great agricultural wealth of the Russian Ukraine, obviously hinting that it should belong to those who needed it most, the "Master-Race" of Germans. In his opinion, a war with the U.S.S.R. was inevitable. That this was the belief in the Soviet Republic too, is evidenced by the fact that during the years of peace Russia prepared for the expected attack. Factories for the production of war materials were scattered far in the interior beyond the Ural Mountains. Leningrad and Moscow were fortified by the building of strategic railroads and highways such that troops could be moved easily in large numbers, and by the perfecting of a system of anti-aircraft protection unequalled in any other cities in the world. The Soviet Army and Air Force were reorganized and trained in modern methods of fighting, inventing such new methods of attack as the use of paratroops.

The Pact of August, 1939, a temporary lull in the struggle, designed by Hitler to protect his forces from an attack in the rear while he finished off Western Europe, was used by Russia to put a wider boundary between her states and the Nazis. Why Hitler broke that Pact, and treacherously, but in characteristic Nazi fashion, attacked Russia without warning in June, 1941, is not explained. Undoubtedly it was a combination of many reasons. The fact remains that Germany attacked Russia, making extravagant promises that the Soviet would be overrun within a few weeks, and that Hitler would be in Moscow before winter. Then Russia became our Ally against Nazism.

Russia's War Aims

Due to their treacherous attack, the Nazi forces were able to make deep inroads into Russian territory. But the superbresistance of the armies and people of the Soviet slowed down

and finally stopped the invaders, and then drove them back many miles, effectively upsetting the time-table of the German High Command.

For the Russians it was and is a total war; no cost is too high nor sacrifice too great so long as it helps to win the war. For example, the Dnieper Dam, built after years of labour and at a cost of over one quarter billion dollars, symbolized for the Soviet peasants the release from serfdom and czardom to freedom and independence. Yet they blew it up without hesitation, in order that the enemy might not be able to use the power. An American writer who has been in Russia a great part of the past twenty-five years and is very sympathetic to the U.S.S.R., says that there are three stimuli to the Soviet people's courageous fighting:

- Public ownership of the vast resources of one-sixth of the world.
- 2. They are fighting for their freedom. The Soviets do not denounce democracy; they claim it.
- 3. They are fighting for human dignity, for the equality of all races, against the Nazi concept of the superior race; for Stalin has said: "Neither language, nor colour of skin, nor cultural backwardness, nor the stage of political development can justify national and racial inequality."

In his radio speech to the Russian people on May 1, 1942, Stalin, Premier and Defence Commissar for the U.S.S.R. said: "We do not aim to occupy other countries or conquer other people. Our aim is clear and noble. We want to liberate the Soviet from the German and Fascist scoundrels. We want to liberate our brothers in the Ukraine, Moldavia, White Russia, Lithuania, Esthonia and Karelia from the shame and ignominy into which they were plunged."

W. Averell Harriman, chief of the American mission to Moscow, returned from Moscow in October, 1941, and in a broadcast message said:

"The spirit of Russian Nationalism has burst into full flame. Stalin himself is interested in one thing and one thing alone—the Russian Nation. He kept talking about her present needs, her future hopes, how this nationalist Russia could develop relations with the British Empire and the United States, believing that a common base could be found to work together."

One Soviet writer, Ilya Ehrenberg, has written: "The men of our Red Army know what they are defending. They are defending the youngest country in the world, the land of youth . . . Our youth is fighting for our land, for our liberty. They

are fighting also for the liberty of the world. They are fighting for human dignity. They are fighting for the rights of Paris, desecrated by the executioners, for the University of Prague, for proud Norway, for the huts of the Serbs, for the Acropolis."

III. CHINA

Introduction

China comprises the central part of Eastern Asia. It is the largest country of what is commonly referred to as the Far East. It actually is west of Canada. Proceeding west from British Columbia across the Pacific Ocean, you first strike the Empire of Japan, a long and narrow cluster of islands running roughly north and south; you pass through the islands into a fairly narrow strip of seas on the other side of which is China. Here you take your directions from Greenwich in England and you are said to be in the Far East.

China is a large country, about the size of Canada but with a population forty times ours—approximately 450,000,000 people, a tremendous multitude with tremendous possibilities.

In the past, when we thought of China, there were two things which impressed us: the age of its civilization and the carefree nature of its teeming and disunited population. We may retain the first of these impressions but the second must undergo a drastic change.

China's Ancient Civilization

China is an old country and has retained an ancient civilization of which it has reason to be proud. The Chinese regard Fu-hi as their first historical emperor and place his lifetime about 2852-2738 B.C. The ancient Chinese philosophers and religious leaders, Confucius, Mo Ti, Mencius and numerous lesser ones, flourished from 551 B.C. (the birth of Confucius) to well into the Christian era. The teachings of these Chinese sages are surprisingly close to modern democratic ideas. Confucius starts with the idea that man is born good and only becomes evil by his environment. Mencius, second only to Confucius, says:

"Where a ruler treats his subjects like grass and dirt, then they may beat him like a bandit and an enemy."

"The people are supreme, then comes the territory of the State and least important of all is the ruler."

Mo Ti comes closer to the Christian doctrine. He said that wars between nations; strife between family and family; strife

between individual and individual; lack of kindness in the ruler and lack of loyalty in the subject—all this has arisen through want of mutual love.

"If," he says, "that one virtue could be made universal—men in general loving one another—the strong would not make prey of the weak; the many would not plunder the few, the rich would not insult the poor, the noble would not be insolent to the mean; and the deceitful would not impose on the simple."

The Chinese Are Democratic

Over two thousand years have passed since these men uttered such words of wisdom, but the Chinese mind was then, and still is, essentially democratic. So democratic has it been that a dangerously careless and carefree attitude has been interpreted as a sign of decadence and total lack of a sense of collective responsibility. People used to say that the old giant was in his dotage. The fault was not altogether old age but rather an exaggerated form of lack of singleness of purpose—a fault often found in other democratic countries.

This reported weakness in the Chinese has its finer side which is beautifully depicted by Dr. Lin Yutang in his book: "My Country and My People". He compares the Chinese with the Japanese:

"Compare the Japanese, busy and bustling, reading a newspaper in the tram or in the train, with a dogged face and a determined chin and a cloud of imminent national disaster hanging over his brow, determined that Japan must either smash the world or be smashed in the great conflict, and preparing for its coming—and the Chinese in his long gown, so placid, so contented, so happy-go-lucky, as if nothing could ever shake him out of his dreams."

This happy-go-lucky attitude is really a democratic trait. The Chinese want to be let alone to map out their own course, and they expect others to be the same. Equality, an essential of democracy is of the very essence of their view of life. Dr. Liu Shih Shun, the Chinese Minister to Canada, in an address before the Canadian Club of Montreal on April 13, 1942, points this out:

"In practice, the Chinese people have lived up to the principles of democracy from time immemorial. In their daily life, they have exhibited a scrupulous regard for the democratic system of political and social organization the rich and the poor had an equal chance, and there was no discrimination between them. As a result.

a man of extremely lowly origin could aspire and rise to a position of the utmost importance."

The Chinese have paid for their lack of awareness. They were wholly unprepared when their country was invaded in 1937—in fact more so than the western democracies, because China was still suffering from the effects of decades of internal strife.

The Defiant Chinese Spirit

But the democratic spirit in the Chinese, once aroused, is just as strong and defiant as in us. The very weakness from which China had been suffering, disappeared. The Chinese became a united nation, determined and resolute. China produced, not one great leader but two, a man and a woman—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his wife. Both have led their people magnificently and have shown exemplary fortitude throughout the long and bitter struggle. In a New Year's message (1941-42) to the people of China, after many of the large cities and the rich coastal areas had passed into Japanese hands, the Generalissimo did not feel discouraged, but on the other hand warned against optimism and made this strong appeal to the nation:

"No man but should be doing something of value to the national war effort, and none should engage in activities useless or disadvantageous to it. All our wills and strength should be concentrated and all resources made to yield the maximum of utility to the cause. We must prove worthy of our place in the ranks of the forces fighting aggression and make of China a modern nation."

Madam Chiang Kai-shek describes the spirit of awakened China in "The China Monthly" May, 1942:

"To the Chinese soldier resistance to the last cartridge and the last man is no mere pretty figure of speech. When our men go to the battlefield they are prepared to die. They feel that they have a sacred mission entrusted to them and they are determined to fulfil it by making the supreme sacrifice if necessary. Their patriotism is fully shared by their families. I have met thousands of women whose menfolk have fallen in battle and I have never yet heard one word of regret. Sorrow, of course, inevitably; but in place of regret an immense pride that they have given their all for their country."

This is the spirit which only a freedom loving people can produce.

IV. OUR ALLIES IN EXILE

France

At the outbreak of war, France and Britain stood side by side in defence of democracy and in opposition to the forces of Nazi Germany. The story of the Nazi attack on France through Belgium and Holland, of the Italian drive from the south, and the gradual wearing, down of French defences is well known. Britain was forced to withdraw to defend her own shores. France had to capitulate to forces of superior strength.

For the people of France it meant a temporary loss of freedom and they accepted their fate in the expectation that other democratic countries of the world would use their strength to end Axis aggression.

On the 18th of June, 1940, General de Gaulle raised the French flag on Allied soil and called on Frenchmen who had escaped from France and those living abroad to prepare to defend their country from without. So there developed the Free French Army, later known as "the Fighting French".

For three years now, the troops of Fighting France, 95,000 men strong, of which more than 20,000 escaped from French territory, have fought on land, on the sea, and in the air.

After the Allied raid in North Africa, the French North African Army, led by General Henri Giraud, who escaped first from Germany and then from occupied France, has progressively joined the Allied Nations. This Army played an important role under hard conditions and notwithstanding insufficient equipment in operations in Tunisia.

In June, 1943, the administration and command of all parts of the French Empire that were not occupied by the Axis powers have been integrated into a single French organization called "Comite Français de la Liberation Nationale".

France, in spite of the armistice of 1940, is still fighting for the victory of democratic countries. Her spirit is with the Allies, and as the opportunity arises for her people within the country to throw off the yoke, they will rise and join the free countries of the world in establishing a democratic world.

Poland

The people of this unfortunate country that has been occupied and partitioned so many times during its history have set up their flag in Britain and thousands of Poles have gathered to it. The exiled Polish Army and Air Force are functioning with the British Army; Polish ships have joined the British Navy; Polish troops are being trained in Canada.

Norway

Norway fights both from within and from without. That country's greatest contribution possibly has been its fleet of ships. However, Norwegian airmen have established a Training Centre in Canada and hundreds of air-crew and ground-crew have been trained for R.A.F. squadrons overseas.

Belgium

After May 28, 1940, when King Leopold surrendered to the Germans, the Belgian Government in exile was formed. When set up it could command assets of close to one half billion dollars and has since derived revenue from Belgian state-owned ships and from its flourishing Belgian Congo (the world's largest producer of radium, cobalt and copal, and one of the largest producers of copper, tin and palm oil). It has thus been in a position to finance its steadily increasing war effort without assistance from other Allies.

To-day, the Belgian Army in exile has well-trained battalions in Britain, notably Commandos and a Parachute Regiment. The Belgian Air Force has more men in Britain to-day than it had in Belgium at the time of the Nazi invasion. There is a Belgian section of the British Navy. Most of the Belgian fishing fleet went to English ports during the invasion and is now working at patrol, mine-sweeping and balloon-barrage duties. The Belgian Mercantile Marine has played an important role in the transport of war materials.

The Netherlands

Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands and every member of her government moved to England when it became obvious that their country would be completely overrun. The whole of the Dutch battle fleet along with a large part of the Merchant Marine managed to escape; these were placed in service against the Axis. From London the Dutch government has directed the Netherland forces which are fighting with the allied armies in various parts of the world. There are training centres in Britain and in Canada. After the fall of the Netherlands East Indies a Dutch War Board was set up in Australia and Vice-Admiral C. B. Helfrich placed in command of all Dutch sea, land and air forces in the Far East. The following cable, despatched by George Weller to American newspapers in April, 1942, shows the spirit of these Dutch forces in the East:

"Dutch officers—and this is no propaganda—are more eager than ever to get new destroyers from America to fight the Japs and avenge their lost comrades. They pray that

America give them a cruiser, even an old one."

"Their Fleet is gone, their families are prisoners, their homes are in the hands of the Japs. Few have anything left, beyond a pair of shorts, a shirt and a water-soaked picture of a wife and children."

"All they want is a chance to fight. It seems little enough to ask."

These men have put up a brave fight in the war in the East.

V. THE GUERILLAS

Guerillas have always taken some part in wars but never before have the hit-and-run soldiers worked in such large numbers and with such devastating effect as in the present war. The reason is obvious: it is the intensity of feeling which has been engendered in the people whose countries have been overrun. The tyrant nations build powerful war-machines which they use without mercy but they also create an unflinching spirit of revenge among the very people they seek to enslave.

Yugoslavia

In Yugoslavia the Chetniks (Serbians and Montenegrins) have mustered a huge army under Gen. Draja Mikhailovitch which they expect will reach a maximum of 200,000 men. In the night of June 25, 1941, these loosely co-ordinated bands of guerillas made a concerted attack in an area three hundred miles long and two hundred miles deep, destroying munition dumps, powerhouses and lines, food and supply warehouses, besides capturing large quantities of much needed army equipment. There were terrible reprisals, of course, but the Chetnik guerillas keep growing. In January, 1942, Hitler demanded that Hungary and Bulgaria send eight divisions to fight in Yugoslavia.

In the summer of 1942 the Italians announced that they had lost more troops fighting the Chetniks than in the whole Balkan campaign, then officially at an end. In Croatia and Slovenia another patriot Army has been harassing the Axis. They are the Partisans of the National Liberation movement. Although forced into the hills by German motorized columns and Stukas, they have been making effective sorties, cutting railway lines and making life generally miserable for the occupying forces.

The Chinese Guerillas

In China there are hundreds of thousands of guerilla bands that are constantly raiding the Japanese posts. The *Daily Telegraph* and *Morning Post* of London said on July 29, 1939: "The guerilla campaign that succeeded the fall of Nanking has

been, to date, the saving of China. It has gradually brought down the ratio of Chinese to Japanese war losses from the 10 to 1 that they were in 1937, to 1 to 1 which Chunking estimates they are to-day."

The Russian Guerillas

In Russia the guerillas are a recognized part of the war machine. Every man, woman and child behind the German lines is a potential and usually an active guerilla. A story is told of a German soldier who in the bitter cold of the 1941-1942 winter campaign brought into the barracks an armful of wood which the Germans themselves had cut. Shortly afterwards there was a terrible explosion in the hut killing many German soldiers huddled around the fire. During the night someone had secretly added to the pile of wood a hollowed log in which was hidden a dynamite bomb.

VI. THE SILENT ARMY

But there is another army. It is silent—either doing its work in secret or else waiting. It has been called the Sixth Column. So effective is it that some say that it is another front. It has to fight without arms, mostly without leaders. All the occupied countries have this underground force. Curt Reiss, author of "Underground Europe" says that even in Germany there are signs of the underground coming to life, although he warns that little can be expected of it.

So far, the Sixth Column must confine itself to sabotage and the passing of information to the allied forces. Trains are derailed, oil storage dumps and refineries are set ablaze, nuts and bolts drop on the floor and cannot be found, machines become overheated through lack of oil and grease, signals are given to guide allied airmen to their targets-in a thousand and one ways the silent army does its work. Each member knows not only that torture and death await him if he is caught, but also that a number of innocent hostages will be shot if he is not caught. Still the Sixth Column grows. The moment it hears of the approach of the United Nation armies it will rise in all its pent-up fury and pounce upon every German and Japanese within reach. This was well illustrated in the Commando raid on St. Nazaire, France, on the morning of March 28, 1942. Many French civilians thought it was an actual invasion. promptly rushed at German soldiers who were taken completely by surprise and were overcome before they could use their weapons. This prompted Winston Churchill to say in the world broadcast he delivered on May 10: "The France that rose at St. Nazaire will one day arise in indescribable fury against the Nazis."

65

CONCLUSION

These are our allies—They are powerful and many—They work in the open and underground. Their numbers are increasing. We can move on, knowing that the free world is on the march to a sure victory.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Why have the Russians fought so well?
- 2. Has the the war changed your attitude to the Chinese?
- 3. Prior to the war did you think Canada and the United States should participate in Eastern Hemisphere wars? Have you changed your mind?
- 4. Do you think sabotage should be recognized as a proper part of the allied war effort?
- 5. Napoleon Bonaparte is reported to have said: "God fights on the side of the largest battalions" and "An army marches on its stomach." What bearing have those statements on the issue of this war?

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER VI

EVENTS LEADING TO THE WAR

The Dictators Prepared for War:

German plans for world domination date back to Frederick the Great. Immediately after the Armistice on November 11, 1918, they started to prepare for the next war.

Japanese theory of superiority is very old.

Italy apes other dictatorial powers.

Rule by force developed the science of force.

These three countries applied this new science, and when they met resistance they waged war.

Scientific discoveries of the machine age were applied to perfect machines of destruction.

The Democracies Craved Peace:

England and France wanted peace— a policy which favoured the warring nations.

Economic and financial difficulties resulted from the last war. Leaders, with a few exceptions such as Churchill, did not see the threat in Naziism.

Appeasement policy supported by majority public opinion.
All this resulted in a combination of apathy and disagreement.

Isolationism in North America:

Theory of isolationism was that North America should not get entangled in European affairs. Atlantic Ocean was regarded as an insurmountable barrier to invasion from Europe.

Short-sighted, selfish policy. Much damage done by this theory.

Dictatorial Powers Pursue Common Course:

All the dictator countries were in a race for loot and plunder. Each country copied a successful venture by another and worked for a long time without interference from the democracies.

The following is a series of acts of aggression and wars of conquest

which have taken place during the last 10 years:

- 1. Manchuria, September 18, 1931—The Mukden Incident. arranged bomb explosion on South Manchurian Railway. Japanese used resulting Chinese disorders as an excuse to march on the town.
- 2. Attack on Shanghai, January, 1932-The Chinese had refused to buy Japanese goods. Japan arranged a series of disturbances in various places in China. Shanghai was attacked on the pretext of protecting Japanese subjects.

SUMMARY-CHAPTER VI-Concluded

Dictatorial Powers Pursue Common Course-Concluded

- Japanese warships fired on Nanking, February 1, 1932—Chinese were hopelessly outclassed. Hostilities ceased in March. League of Nations met to protest against these acts of aggression but little was done.
- Italy invaded Ethiopia, October 2, 1935.
 League of Nations tried to impose oil sanctions against Italy but was not supported in this.
- Germany marched into demilitarized Rhineland, March 7, 1936—No resistance offered.
- 6. The Spanish War—Republican Government attacked in Spain. Italy and Germany supplied men, money and material to Franco. They wanted a dictator power in Spain similar to that in their own countries. Thus Spain would become a base for attacks on Gibraltar and French Africa, a back door for an attack on France and a side door for an attack on England. The Spanish War ended with the fall of Madrid on March 28, 1939.
- The Chinese War—The real war started on July 8, 1937. It
 is still raging. The Chinese are peace loving people but are
 doing their share against the dictators.
- 8. Hitler marched into Austria, March 11, 1938—No resistance was offered. Austria was overrun with traitors.
- 9. The Sudetenland and Munich—The Czechs and Germans were deliberately encouraged to clash. Chamberlain of England and Daladier of France signed a pact at Munich, September 30, 1938, to try to prevent war. The Sudetenland was taken into the Reich. Chamberlain and Hitler signed an agreement that their countries would never go to war again.
- Hitler marched into Czecho-Slovakia March 15, 1939. His pretext was to restore order.
- Italy occupied Albania, April 12, 1939. A puppet Fascist government was set up in Albania.
- 12. Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact, August 23, 1939.
- 13. German invasion of Poland, September 1, 1939—"To protect German subjects in Poland".
 Ultimatum demanding cessation of hostilities was sent to Germany from Great Britain. Britain declared war on Germany, September 3, 1939. France followed suit.

How It Became a World War:

- 14. Finnish-Russian war began, November 30, 1939.
- Germany invaded and occupied Denmark virtually without opposition. Norway invaded, April 9, 1940.
- Germany invaded Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg, May 10, 1940.
- 17. Italy declared war against France and Great Britain ("The Stab in the Back"), June 10, 1940.
- 18. Germany invades Russia, June 22, 1941.
- December 7, 1941, Japan perpetrated an outrage at Pearl Harbour, leading to United States' entrance into war.

Chapter VI

EVENTS LEADING TO THE WAR

Earlier in these discussions, we came to the conclusion that even though we hated war, there are evils that are worse than war. To lose what we believe in, the precious freedom which we enjoy, and the privilege of building a nation, free and strong, is worse than death itself.

It is not enough merely to know that we are at war. That in itself, is a shock to us. But in order to understand why so suddenly we found ourselves at war in September, 1939, we must go back a few years and find out how it was that this could happen so quickly.

To put it very briefly and bluntly it may be said that this happened because some people prepared for war while others stood by and paid no heed to what was taking place.

THE DICTATORS PREPARED FOR WAR

Germany's present plans for world domination are not new. They date prior to the last war-back to the days of Bismarck and even to Frederick the Great. Hitler is not a creator. He took hold of a plan which was temporarily discarded when Germany lost the last war. It had not been wholly discarded. We are told that the Germans started preparing for the next war on November 11, 1918—the day they signed the armistice in the last one. Neither are the plans of Japan new. In fact their theory of superiority is very old. It blossomed out afresh very soon after the end of the last war. Italy did not find it difficult to ape the others and frame its own pattern of rule by force. The application of government by force was studied in all its possible ramifications. Experts in one country followed closely the theories of experts in other countries. They compared notes. Thus rule by force expanded into something much more wickedit developed into a complete theory of life which rapidly spread throughout these countries and imbedded itself in the minds of the people. To fulfil their imagined destiny, these three nations began to apply their new science by preparing for war and actually waging war if those in their path offered resistance.

Everything was in their favour.

Science has made marvellous progress in the last half century. This is the machine age. Through phenomenal mechanical improvements, the forces of nature have been harnessed and brought under the control of man. A few decades ago the ox cart moved on the prairies at two miles an hour; now aeroplanes travel at a speed of over six miles a minute.

Yesterday horses hauled wagons and sleighs; now caterpillar tractors and heavily armoured tanks race over the ground whether it be a prepared road or hills and ravines with patches of forest and jutting rocks. Yesterday runners carried messages; now the radio transmits them. To-day man travels on the sea. under the sea, and over the sea. Oil provides power for machines of every kind; high explosives blast the rich metals out of the rock.

All this is very fine. Unfortunately the nations which have been deliberately planning war have applied all scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions for the perfecting of machines of destruction—dive-bombers, tanks, armoured cars, submarines. These new and rapidly moving vehicles of destruction have made possible the blitzkrieg of to-day.

THE DEMOCRACIES CRAVED PEACE

But there was something else which favoured the warring nations. It was the attitude of the democracies, the nations who stood idly by.

The people of England and France were tired of war and craved peace. They had not recovered from the last war. There were big gaps in the generation which was moving up to take hold of things. There were economic and financial difficulties. The people were divided. Some wanted to do business with Germany and keep away from Russia. Others were attracted to Communism and were afraid of the Nazi doctrine. It all resulted in a combination of apathy and disagreement. With only a few exceptions such as Winston Churchill, the leaders did not seem to have had the foresight to urge re-arming and, if necessary, to lead their nations into war. They sought appeasement. Public opinion supported them.

ISOLATIONISM IN NORTH AMERICA

We in North America did our share in permitting the dictators to advance. Almost immediately after the last war, a theory called isolationism spread throughout the United States and Canada. According to this theory, we of North America should

not be entangled in European affairs. The Atlantic Ocean was regarded as an insurmountable barrier to an invasion from Europe. We were to mind our own business.

Events since the outbreak of the war have exploded this shortsighted and selfish policy. Its disappearance was graphically put by Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, when he said:

"We of the United States can no more evade shouldering our responsibility than a boy of eighteen can avoid becoming a man by wearing short pants. The word 'isolation' means short pants for grown-up United States."

But much damage was done before this change took place. If the United States, and Canada, for that matter, and other democratic countries had been ready and willing to join against aggressor states, then dictatorships might not have flourished.

A COMMON COURSE PURSUED

There was another reason why the aggressor nations were so successful. They copied each other. A new technique in one country was adopted in the others. A successful conquest by one dictator, without interference by the democracies, encouraged the others to do the same. It soon developed into a race for loot and plunder. All this made possible the series of acts of aggression and wars of conquest which have taken place during the last ten years. The other fellow prepared for war; we stood idly by.

THE AGGRESSION BEGINS

You may be surprised to know that the series of events which led up to the outbreak of the present war did not commence in Europe. They were started in Manchuria. Japan was the first offender.

Manchuria

On September 18, 1931, a bomb exploded on the South Manchurian Railway in Manchuria, near a town called Mukden. This has since been referred to as the Mukden Incident. It is now well known that the explosion was not an accident. It was planned by the Japanese themselves to be used as a pretext to march into the town to quell the disorders which they expected would follow, and if resistance was offered, to engage in war. It worked. Japanese soldiers were close by, ready to attack the Chinese inhabitants. The presence of the soldiers might have been explained as an accident, but unfortunately for Japan it leaked out that the explosion had been pre-

arranged. One Japanese column of troops, some considerable distance away, had received its instructions to march to the place of accident seven hours before it actually occurred.

The Mukden Incident led to the conquest of Manchuria. This did not disturb us very much as we did not think that a war in Manchuria could in any possible way affect us.

Attack on Shanghai

The conquest of Manchuria was followed by the attack on Shanghai in January, 1932. The Japanese were complaining bitterly because the Chinese would not buy their goods. They came to the conclusion that they would force them to do so—a mistaken psychology shared by the Nazis. Cajoling had failed, hence something had to be done to justify an attack by force. This proved easy. Disturbances were arranged in various places in China. The Japanese Ambassador to Moscow, Shirota, stated concerning one of these disturbances:

"The Japanese Government is forced to protect its subjects at Harbin who are endangered by the disturbances."

On February 1, the town of Nanking was fired on by Japanese warships. The Chinese were hopelessly outclassed because of lack of war materials and equipment. These hostilities ceased in March, 1932, but, as we shall see later, that did not make the Chinese buy Japanese goods.

Italy Seizes Ethiopia

Italy was the next to embark upon a course of gangsterism. Emboldened by the success of Japan, Mussolini felt he also had to put on war paint. On October 2, 1935, he attacked Abyssinia (now called Ethiopia). The natives, under Haile Selassie, fought bravely but it was a hopeless struggle. The Italians had modern weapons of war and soon overcame the hopeless resistance of Selassie and his men. On the 5th May, 1936, it was all over. Ethiopia was conquered.

In Italy there was great rejoicing. Speaking from the Palazzo Venezia to a seething crowd below, Signor Mussolini, with great gusto, used these words:

"The manifold races of the former empire of the Lion of Judah (meaning Haile Selassie) have shown by clear signs that they wish to live and to work tranquilly beneath the Italian tricolor!" The Ethiopians have shown very clearly in the present war what they really do wish, and we are happy that by allied intervention, their country has now been restored to them.

Hitler on the March

Adolf Hitler had been watching very closely. The League of Nations had met to protest against the Japanese attack on Manchuria but little was done. An effort was made to enforce oil sanctions against Italy. Without oil, Italy could not conquer Ethiopia. But it was soon realized that the nations of Europe were not able to agree upon oil sanctions. Why should Western democracies be concerned about a few Negroes in Ethiopia? Oil sanctions failed. Japan and Italy got away with it—why not Germany? Hitler became bold and decided to defy the Treaty of Versailles.

In March 1936, his armies marched into the demilitarized Rhineland—a border along the Rhine which, by the Treaty, the Germans were not allowed to fortify. There was no resistance. To celebrate the occasion, Hitler spoke to his yes-men in

the Reich:

"At this historic hour, at which, in the Western Provinces of the Reich, German troops are now entering their garrisons, we join with them in this solemn oath.

"To work for an understanding among the nations of Europe, and especially for an understanding with the West-

ern neighbours."

Hitler has always maintained that if you are going to tell a lie you should make it a big one. Too many believed him at that time. France was alarmed, but not to the point of action. Opinion in England was divided. The outside world did not seem to care.

The Spanish War

The next event of the series leading to world war was the revolt in Spain. It is well known that Mussolini supplied General Franco with money and arms before the outbreak of the revolution. During the war, both Italy and Germany supplied men, money and material. Spain was used as a practice ground. The purpose in aiding Franco was to establish a similar government in Spain so that Spain could, if necessary, be a jumping off place for attacks upon Gibraltar and French Africa and provide a back door for attack upon France and a side entrance to England.

The Spanish Civil War ended with the fall of Madrid on

March 28, 1939.

The Chinese War

We now go back to China. The real Chinese war did not start until July 8, 1937. It will not surprise you to hear that the Chinese war, which is still raging, was also commenced by a mere incident. That incident took place in a town near Peking. The Chinese government had continually been protesting against provocative acts by the Japanese. At midnight on July 7, a few Chinese soldiers could not restrain themselves and retaliated. War broke out once more. That war has already cost millions of lives.

The Austrian Anschluss

In 1938 things began to happen in Europe. On March 11 Hitler marched into Austria. No resistance was offered. But even if an effort had been made, it would have been crushed at once. Austria had been overrun with fifth column Nazi sympathizers, who suddenly appeared as if from nowhere, and, by taking leading men prisoners, including Chancellor Von Schuschnigg himself, made organized resistance impossible. Austria surrendered without firing a gun, and another historic European country disappeared.

The Sudetenland and Munich

This was but a beginning. Soon afterwards plans were laid by Hitler to stir up the German element in that part of Czecho-Slovakia, which is called Sudetenland. Slight grievances were magnified, others were manufactured. Clashes between the Czechs and the German population were deliberately fomented by the Nazis. The more the Czechs yielded, the more was demanded by the Germans. War seemed inevitable.

In order to try to prevent bloodshed, if at all possible, the late Mr. Chamberlain, the Prime Minister of England, and M. Daladier, the Premier of France, tried to make a settlement which resulted in the ill-fated pact of Munich, signed on September 30, 1938. By this pact, the Sudetenland was taken into the Reich.

The following day Adolf Hitler and Neville Chamberlain signed an agreement in which they resolved that their two peoples, the British and the Germans, would never go to war again, and would settle all disputes by consultation.

When Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier returned to London and Paris they were loudly cheered.

But Hitler's words meant nothing—except to deceive Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier. A few months afterwards, on March 15, 1939, Hitler marched into Czecho-Slovakia. Early

that morning Dr. Goebbels, Hitler's Propaganda Minister, in the name of the Fuehrer, made an announcement to the people of Germany, explaining that the conditions in Czecho-Slovakia had become unbearable and that German troops had to march in and restore order. Again there was no armed resistance. Thus the most democratic of all the Slavic countries was brought under the Nazi yoke.

Mussolini Grabs Albania

Mussolini had become uneasy by this time. He felt his turn had come to grab some more loot. In the early hours of April 7 (Good Friday) 1939, Italian troops entered the four main ports of Albania. By April 12, Albania was completely occupied. A puppet Fascist government was set up which declared that the unanimous will of the people of Albania was to offer the Crown of Albania to the King of Italy!

Unanimous will of the people of Albania!

The Russo-German Pact

The next event to shock the world was the agreement between Russia and Germany. It looked as though Hitler was able to fool Stalin no less than others. Now it looks as though Hitler himself was fooled, while Stalin gained time to complete defence plans.

While Hitler was rising to power, he most bitterly attacked the Communists. They were even worse than the Jews. This was deliberate on his part. By attacking Communism he was gaining the friendship of others, particularly the military and upper classes. Later he turned on the very men who brought him to power. He did not hesitate to order wholesale murder of those who offered the slightest criticism of his plans.

On May 21, 1935, Hitler had concluded a pact with Poland. He of course said he would adhere to this pact unconditionally. But he said something about Communism at the same time:

"So far as Bolshevism draws Germany within its range, however, we are its deadliest and most fanatical enemies!"

This was said in 1935. On August 23, 1939, a little over four years later, Herr Von Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister, arrived in Moscow to arrange a non-aggression pact with Russia. We know now that this was necessary because Germany intended to strike at Poland and then turn west against France and England. Hitler wanted to be sure that Russia would leave him

alone. After two meetings with M. Molotoff, then Russia's Premier and now Vice-Premier and Foreign Commissar, the pact was signed.

Thus, with very little discussion, an agreement was entered into with the "deadly and fanatical enemy", who knew what Hitler was up to and played his own game.

Poland Invaded

Immediately after the agreement was signed, a virulent anti-Polish campaign was started. The German press waged a war of lies and treachery charging the Poles with insults, terrorism and atrocities. German citizens in Poland suddenly discovered that they were terribly maltreated. The situation, they said, had become unbearable. Something had to be done to protect the innocent Germans in Poland!

At 5.30 A.M. on September 1, 1939, German troops invaded Poland.

Hitler waited most anxiously to hear what France and England would do. He fully expected that once more he would reach his objective without a challenge from the Western democracies. But he was mistaken. Great Britain sent an ultimatum to Germany demanding that hostilities cease. The time expired on Sunday, September 3, at 11.00 A.M. Fifteen minutes later, Prime Minister Chamberlain announced that Great Britain was at war with Germany. France followed suit.

How It Became a World War

The cbb and flow of the fortunes of war since the outbreak of hostilities are well known to you and need not be discussed, but a few important points may be mentioned.

On April 9, 1940, after the most extensive and thorough fifth column preparations had been made in Denmark and Norway, Germany invaded those countries. A month later, May 10, Belgium and Holland were attacked. By June 10. these countries and a large part of Northern France were in German hands. Mussolini came to the conclusion that the hour to grab more loot had arrived. He declared war on Britain and France. On June 17, France, whose faith in the security of the Maginot Line had been misplaced, asked Germany for an armistice which was signed five days later. All of these countries resisted the advance of the invader with all their strength but the Germans were too strong and too well prepared.

We now pass on to the year 1941. Germany attacked Russia without warning at dawn on June 22. Adolf Hitler said that

this was to be "the greatest military march in the world's history". That may be true, but Hitler forgot to mention that it might turn out to be a two-way march. Russia's apparent aggression in Finland and the Baltic States was an attempt to guard her flank against German attacks. Germany has now felt the strength of Russian arms and the will of the Russian people.

On November 5, Japan sent smiling Saburo Kurusu to Washington to further friendly relations with the United States. He arrived in San Francisco on November 14. Sunday morning, December 7, twenty-three days after Kurusu arrived in America, Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and British and American bases in the Pacific Ocean. The same morning Japan announced that it had entered into a state of war with Great Britain and the United States. Hostilities had commenced off Malaya at 1.30 A.M.—that is, before the announcement was made. The news of the simultaneous attacks reached Washington when Kurusu was in conference with Cordell Hull. On December 8 at 12.30, His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom informed Japan that a state of war existed between the two countries. At the same time, the United States Congress passed a resolution declaring that a state of war existed between the government of the people of the United States and the Imperial Japanese government. The same day, Canada declared war on Japan.

Thus we find crowded into ten short fateful years a series of attacks upon innocent and peace-loving nations, leading up to the greatest cataclysm in the history of mankind. The democracies had hesitated, clung to a hope that war could be averted. But whether the democracies were over-complacent or not makes little difference. The clash had to come. The unpreparedness merely served to make it easier for the aggressor nations.

But we must not attribute the initial success of the Axis entirely to the lack of awareness in the democracies. The Axis powers did build a gigantic hard-hitting blitz-war-machine which was bound to meet with temporary success. They would not have been so successful if the leaders in those countries had not been able to obtain complete control over the people and instil in them a spirit of hate coupled with a willingness to endure all the hardships and sufferings of war. The methods which made this possible will be discussed in the next four lectures.

Agreement Made In Munich

On September 30, 1938, Herr Hitler, Mr. Chamberlain, M. Daladier and Signor Mussolini signed what is commonly known as the Munich Agreement. On the following day Adolf Hitler and Neville Chamberlain signed the following agreement:

"We, the German Fuehrer and Chancellor, and the British Prime Minister, have had a further meeting to-day and are agreed in recognizing that the question of the Anglo-German relations is of the first importance for the two countries and for Europe.

We regard the agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German Naval Agreement as symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again.

We are resolved that the method of consultation shall be the method adopted to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries, and we are determined to continue our efforts to remove possible sources of difference and thus to contribute to assure the peace of Europe."

The Annexation of Czecho-Slovakia

At 5.00 A.M. on March 15, 1939, Dr. Goebbels read a pro-CLAMATION to the German people in the name of the Fuehrer.

"After Germany, only a few months ago, was compelled to protest against the unbearable regime of terrorism in Czecho-Slovakia, the same events again occurred to an ever-increasing extent during the past few weeks.

In order to eliminate this menace to peace and order, and to create the pre-requisites for the necessary new regulations in that area, I have decided, as from to-day, to allow German troops to march into Bohemia and Moravia.

They will disarm the terrorist gangs and the Czech military forces who protect the gangs, protect the lives of all who are menaced and thus secure a basis for the introduction of a new and fundamental settlement which will be justice to a thousand years of history and to the practical needs of the German and Czech peoples."

Speech by Herr Hitler in the Reichstag, March 7, 1936

"Men, Deputies of the German Reichstag: At this historic hour at which, in the Western Provinces of the Reich, German troops are now entering their garrisons, we join with them in this solemn oath:

- 1. Not to yield before any power and force in the effort to restore the honour of the nation and rather to succumb than to capitulate.
- 2. To work for an understanding among the Nations of Europe, and especially for an understanding with the Western neighbours."

78

OUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Why were the people in Canada, Great Britain and France not desirous of war?
- 2. Why were Hitler and the German people ready for war?
- 3. Why was isolationist sentiment so strong in the United States before 1940? In view of what has happened since then, do you think isolationism can ever be practicable?
- 4. What were your own feelings when Hitler invaded Czecho-Slovakia?
- 5. During the past few years have you discussed at all the events outlined in this lecture?
- 6. How do the events discussed in this lecture show that Hitler had one big objective in mind all the time? What is this objective?

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER VII

GERMANY

Doctrine of racial superiority:

Germans believe they are a superior and chosen race and that they are destined by divine right to rule the world. All other peoples are but slaves to the Germans. Children are brought up on a doctrine of hate. Propaganda of racial superiority appeals to German youth. All cruelties and evils are justified by this superiority. Youth are taught that they are a "Pure Race", which is impossible, because all nations are made up of a mixture of races.

Sense of right and wrong disappears:

German people are taught only one difference between right and wrong. "Right" is that which promotes the might of the nation. This is the essence of Nazi education. Disappearance of conscience at first extends only to leaders but later permeates the whole nation. The German nation is their God and Hitler is the mediator. Therefore, Hitler is always right and to disobey him is wrong.

German people united by hatred:

A systematic cultivation of a hatred of Jews has helped considerably to unite the German nation. Hitler is cultivating a hatred of the British people which will be just as intense. Anti-Nazi Germans are subjected to the most cruel punishment. British Government "White Paper" (October, 1939) published authentic accounts of treatment of Germans in concentration camps during 1938-39.

The Gestapo (The German Secret Police) is everywhere:

Must be obeyed by all government departments. Stops at nothing to get its victims. Has threefold function to perform: to crush opposition to the Nazis; organize fifth column activities in other countries; maintain Hitler in power.

Religion is undermined at every stage of German education:

All belief in a spiritual power higher than the state is attacked. One is either a German or a Christian. It is impossible to be both. Hundreds of thousands of Christians are in concentration camps.

Spreading of the Nazi Gospel:

Control of German life begins at the age of three and by means of various Nazi organizations, continues until death. Nazi organizations, called Bunds, have been established in other countries. Members are believers in German racial superiority and service to Nazis.

Villainous treachery:

Conquest of Norway was the result of villainous work by the Bund organization. This should be a lesson to Canada. Primary object of Bund is to draw men of German origin to allegiance to Reich, assist dissenting elements in a country (racial, political or religious).

Slavery applied:

The case of Poland, "A modern form of mediaeval slavery".

Chapter VII

GERMANY

DOCTRINE OF RACIAL SUPERIORITY

To understand fully why we have been forced to go to war with Germany we have to know something of the way of life and the beliefs that have developed in the German people. Hitler has been an exceptionally clever propagandist and his chief weapon of propaganda has been his belief in the racial superiority of the German people. With persistency and skill he has inculcated the belief into the German people, young and old, that they are the superior and chosen race of the world. This is not the first time that the attempt has been made to make the German people believe that they are superior to any other people, but Hitler has been much more successful than anyone else. Racial instruction takes first place in German education today. Small children at an impressionable age are made to study a paper, "Der Sturmer", which is full of abuse against the Jews and all those whom the Nazis regard as inferior men. This paper is put up on the notice boards in many schools and small children are encouraged in acts of senseless rudeness and brutality. In the same way, small children are taught to hate people of other nations and to regard them as inferior beings. The adult German population also has been subjected to intensive propaganda. Dr. Robert Ley, the Organization Director for the Reich, said on December 21, 1939;

"The German race, our faith, has higher rights than all others; we have a divine right to rule and we shall assure ourselves of that right."

Appeal to Youth

Hitler's propaganda of racial superiority found a very fertile place in the minds of German youth. In the schools and in the Hitler youth movements, all training is directed towards producing an implicit belief in the Nazi doctrines, unquestioning obedience and a faith in force. All school subjects are charged with this racial dogma. No matter what the subject of instruction may be, the teacher will instruct the pupils that it was a German who perfected the subject for the use of other peoples. This is obvious nonsense to us, but unfortunately, this is the kind of information which is given to the young people of Ger-

many. And those are the youths who are now fighting in the German Army, Air Force and Navy. When Hitler came into power, these youths were only 11 or 12, and it is upon the formation of their minds during the most impressionable time of life that the ingenuity and organizing ability of the Nazi leaders have been concentrated. Knowing nothing else, hearing nothing else, the youth of Germany to-day are passionate believers that they are destined by divine right to be rulers of the world.

Meanwhile, Hitler despises his own people. He calls them (Mein Kampf) "an empty-headed herd of sheep," and "the incarnation of stupidity."

The Pure Race—A Falsehood

The ridiculous feature of all this Nazi dogma is that it is based on falsehood. Peoples in different countries are mixtures of races. This falsehood of pure race is deliberately manufactured by the Nazi leaders in order to cultivate and nourish contempt for all other nationalities. The imagination and patriotic zeal of Nazi German youth is fired with a lie. This lie has spread right into the lives of the German people and has warped and destroyed their attitude to all things and all other people. Whatever is done, no matter how cruel or how evil it may appear to us, is justified by the Germans on the grounds of this racial superiority.

MORAL CONSCIENCE

The Nazi has no moral conscience towards those opposed to his doctrines. In normal human society, a child learns from his parents or from his religion to distinguish between good and evil. The Nazi admits as right only that which is promoting the might of the nation. Here is the essence of all Nazi education:

"The blood-community of the race, that is the nation, is the pivotal point of all earthly existence. The nation alone is a purpose in itself. Everything else is a means to an end and must serve the good of the nation—everything, including justice and law. Justice is whatever is of benefit to the nation, whatever corresponds to the German feeling of 'justice'."

This is the kind of stuff on which the young Nazi is fed from infancy; this is what makes him in manhood a ruthless enemy of all mankind outside the ranks of his fellow-Nazis. It has meant nothing to Hitler to give his word of honour; it has meant less to him to break it. As far back as 1934 Herr Hitler used the following words:

"Anyone who is so fussy that he has to consult his conscience about whether he could keep to a pact, whatever the pact, and whatever the situation, is a fool. Why not please other people and ease one's own position by signing pacts, if other people thought that got them anything."

This disappearance of conscience and of the sense of right and wrong at first extends only to the leaders and the accepted few. But in course of time, through carefully prepared and disseminated propaganda, it permeates the whole nation. W. C. Graham and H. G. May in "Culture and Conscience" say:

"It is naturally impossible for the individual to experience any sense of the rightness or wrongness of his conduct except in relation to a standard which either enjoys the sanction of a society, or which he, as a member thereof, believes should enjoy it."

Hitler is Always Right

Hitler has a definite goal in mind-world domination-and this end will justify any means he may use. His Nazi racial dogma is further support to his ambition and to all his actionsthe leader of the superior race is always right. Knowing that man is so constructed that he will desire justification for his acts, Hitler has developed in the German people a moral attitude which suits his own purposes. This is how it is done. The individual German is told that God is the German nation, and that, therefore, he, as an individual, must do whatever the nation commands. In obeying these commands, the German people are obeying their moral conscience because God is acting through the nation. Hitler is the mediator for God and to disobey Hitler is not only to be wrong, but to be blasphemous. Hitler has, through the years, skilfully (and evilly) substituted in the minds of the German people this new law of right and wrong. With their belief in themselves as superior to any other people, and with their unquestioning obedience to the commands of Hitler, the Germans now show a hatred and cruelty to other people which surpasses anything of this nature previously

The basis of all this is stated by Hitler in these words: "Right

abides in strength alone."

HATRED AND CRUELTY

The Nazi hatred of the Jews is well known to all. By systematic cultivation of this hatred, Hitler has provided a means of uniting the German people. Inside Germany you are either a Jew or a German. If you are a German, you are against the

Jews, and if you are against the Jews, you are for Hitler. In this way, all Germans and all anti-Jews are for Hitler. It is easy to see, therefore, that Hitler could form a common bond of union among the German people by making them all antisomething-or-other. The expression for this opposition to something-or-other was always an extreme form of hatred or cruelty, and whoever the Nazis hated was always subjected to extreme cruelties. Using the same technique, Hitler and the Nazis have cultivated an extreme hatred of the British. By clever and persistent propaganda, Hitler is making the German people hate the British people, and this hatred will express itself in most cruel forms. It is necessary for us to keep in mind just how ruthless the Nazis are, in order to realize how deeply infected the German people have become with Nazi beliefs.

Cruelty to Anti-Nazi Germans

Nor did Hitler hesitate to punish cruelly any German who refused to obey Nazi commands, or who was suspected of being out of sympathy with the regime. The world press has reported from time to time the inhuman barbarities of the concentration camps.

In October, 1939, the British Government published a document known as the "White Paper" in which they revealed authentic accounts of treatment of Germans in concentration camps during the years 1938-1939. These accounts are the

testimony of accredited witnesses:

"We form ranks at 4.30 a.m. Coffee distribution is at 4.45 a.m. on the square where the gallows stand and the

blocks (for flogging).

At 5.30 a.m. there is the end of the roll-call; until then we stand stiffly at attention. Those who have reported sick now come forward and are separated off and inspected by the commandant.

He at once treats the 'fit' with his riding whip in their faces in the presence of the others. 'Jews do not fall

111.

The Commandant decides by sight who is 'ripe' for the doctor. These number six or seven per cent; the others have to go back into the labour gang. There is no differentiation of the sick in the labour gang; they are helped on by sticks and a riding whip.

The doctor declares the sick as 'ill' or 'fit'; in the latter case they are punished in the evening for their 'lies'; in the end, no Jews are accepted as sick; they could only be

'well' or 'dead'.

Floggings take place at the afternoon roll-call, the individuals having to step forward. Penalties are read out (being fixed beforehand), and the normal punishment of 25 strokes is carried out by two guards standing at each side with riding whips.

The prisoner is lashed to a board. If he cries out the strokes are increased to 35. Guards use all their force, sometimes springing into the air so as to bring down the

arm with increased momentum.

Few days pass without cases of flogging and the number may be from two to ten. After a flogging the men have to stand at attention with their faces to the wall at the end of the roll-call. Then the sanitary officer comes around and puts ointment on their wounds."

THE GESTAPO

A ruthless organization such as the National-Socialist Party of Germany could not carry out its acts of tyranny through the ordinary channels of the law such as the police force and the law courts. A special force of terrorists was created, called the Gestapo, short for "Gebeime Staatapolizei" which means the secret police of the state. It is not subject to either judicial or administrative control and hence is absolutely free in its choice of methods, both of apprehending would-be offenders and in meting out punishment.

The Nazi Secret Police grew out of the old bodyguard of Adolf Hitler, the Schutzstaffeln (Protection Squads), now known as S.S. They are drawn from the ranks of the "elite", that is,

the most fanatic of the party followers.

The man at the Head of the Gestapo is Heinrich Himmler, who took over the job in April, 1934. His first act of large scale violence was the celebrated purge of the night of June 30, 1934, commonly known as the "night of the long knives". Thousands of opponents or would-be opponents of Hitler were slain that night. Himmler is efficient, ruthless and cruel to a degree of sadism, and knows how to instil into the men the *S.S. spirit of "ruthlessness for the sake of the State".

The Gestapo has a threefold function to perform. Its first duty is to crush all opposition within the state. For that purpose its men are everywhere; they listen to telephone conversations, open letters, question servants about their masters, children about their parents. They arrest without warning, there is no

^{*} S.S. (Schutzstaffeln) These were small groups of men who were formed in the early days of the Nazi Party for the purpose of spreading Nazi Propaganda.

trial and the punishment is whatever their poisoned minds may invent. For greater efficiency special spies are detailed to watch the others. No one, not even if he belongs to the Gestapo itself, knows when he is being watched.

The Gestapo men also act outside of Germany, sometimes as spies, sometimes as members of the diplomatic corps. Their primary purpose is to gather information, foment unrest and report on the activities of Bunds and other German agencies abroad. The names of all opponents of Naziism are carefully tabulated. For instance, a German General was captured during the invasion of Holland. On his person was found a list of men who were to be shot at sight. The Gestapo follows the army as it overruns a country and takes over police duties.

The third duty of the Gestapo is one which, we hope, may turn out to be a strenuous one. It is to keep Hitler and his chosen followers in power no matter what happens.

CHRISTIANITY UPROOTED

Such hatred and cruelty could not exist side by side with a belief in Christianity. Nor does it. At every stage in German education, religion is undermined. All belief in God or in any spiritual power higher than the state is attacked as a rival to the worship of the racial state and its Fuehrer. The Nazi is very direct in his statement: "One is either a German or a Christian. You cannot be both." In the concentration camps of Germany there are hundreds of thousands of Christians. The most famous of these prisoners is Pastor Martin Niemoller. He is a living martyr and symbol of Christian resistance in Germany, both to Germans and to the whole world. This Protestant clergyman was a hero of the last Great War, having won the Iron Cross as a submarine commander. In July, 1937, he was put into jail for his attack on Naziism. He was freed and then returned to a concentration camp in February, 1938. There he remains, having refused release offered to him on condition that he promise to cease preaching. Many of you will be acquainted with the film, "Pastor Hall", which freely parallels Pastor Niemoller's career in opposition, showing a small-town Lutheran pastor learning what the new Nazi gospel means, suffering in a concentration camp and escaping for a final sermon to his flock, before being shot.

In the concentration camp harsh treatment is fast wearing out Pastor Niemoller. In the same camp is the Jesuit priest, Rupert Mayer. Like Pastor Niemoller, Priest Mayer is a first Great War hero. In 1937 Priest Mayer said, "It is better for a priest to be shot down in Spain than to see his faith being dragged into the dirt in Germany." The Gestapo promptly arrested him. Like Niemoller he has refused release offered him on condition that he refrain from preaching.

SPREADING OF THE NAZI GOSPEL

Hitler has used every available method of spreading his Nazi beliefs inside and outside of Germany. We have already learned of how he has taken control of the whole lives of the German people. Dr. Robert Ley, the Organization Director for the

Reich, puts this in the following way:

"We begin with the child when he is three years old. As soon as he begins to think, he gets a little flag put in his hand; then follows the school, the Hitler Youth, the "S.A. and military training. We never let him go; when adolescence is past then comes the Arbeitsfront, which takes him again and does not let him go until he dies, whether he likes it or not."

So skilful have been the methods of propaganda and so passionate has been the belief of the Nazis that the Nazi gospel has been carried throughout the world. Organizations have been established in all the different countries. We have been surprised and amazed to learn of the strength and number of these Nazi organizations in the United States and in South America before the war. These organizations are known as Bunds. The members are passionate believers in the doctrines of German racial superiority and of service to the Nazi beliefs. In the December 30, 1936, issue of the Deutsche Zeitung fur Canada, which was published in Winnipeg, Manitoba, for four years prior to the war and which is now suppressed, is to be found the following statement:

"We command that the members of the Bund place themselves unconditionally behind their leaders in order that we may accomplish the task that we place before ourselves without any omissions. In this spirit we greet all

the members of the Bund with Heil Hitler!"

VILLAINOUS TREACHERY

In spreading their propaganda and winning the confidence of other peoples the Germans are wholly unscrupulous and without conscience. Good examples are Norway and Holland. During the first World War and in the depression periods that followed, when food was very scarce in Germany, large numbers of Ger-

^{*}S.A. (Sturmabteilunzen)—The Nazi Storm Troopers.

man children were sent to these countries. While there they learned the language and gained the confidence of those about them. When they grew up they became the most effective fifth column. Because they spoke the language perfectly, during the critical days of the invasion, again and again they fooled army officers and government officials by fake telephone orders and reports.

Here is what M. Carl I. Hambro, president of the Norwegian Parliament, writes in his book, "I Saw It Happen in Norway":

"What stupefied the Norwegians more than the act of aggression itself was the national realization that a great power for years professing its friendship, suddenly appeared a deadly enemy; and the individual realization that men and women with whom one had had intimate business or professional relations, who had been cordially welcomed in one's homes, were spies and agents of destruction. More than by the violation of treaties and every international obligation, the people of Norway were dazed by the realization that for years their German friends had been elaborating the most detailed plans for the invasion and subsequent enslaving of their country. That tourists and starying children, welcomed and nourished in Norway, had been agents on a secret mission, had been learning Norwegian, had been studying Norwegian institutions intent on one thing only—to use every confidence given to pave the way for the conquest of Norway and for German reign in the country."

A Twofold Propaganda

The primary purpose of Bund organization is to draw men of German origin to allegiance to the Reich, but another and more sinister purpose is to give assistance to all dissenting elements in any country. Isolationism, Anglophobia or any other creed which might possibly serve the purpose of separating people are played on by the Nazi organizations. They would support and magnify any creed that sought to emphasize racial, political or religious differences.

SLAVERY APPLIED

In May, 1940, Herr Darre, one of the key men of the Nazi party, when addressing a number of high ranking officials, said:

"Germany is not only the leading nation of the world but a nation predestined to rule the world. A new aristocracy of German masters will be created. This aristocracy will have slaves assigned to it, these slaves to be their property and to consist of landless, non-German Nationals. We actually have in mind a modern form of mediaeval slavery."

That this is no exaggeration is evident from what has happened in Poland and in other Nazi-dominated countries. The Pole, the Czech and any other non-German National is a slave and is treated as such. The Gestapo to-day rules in Poland with barbaric severity. Starving, driven from their homes, serving prison sentences on trumped-up charges, the Poles face annihilation. Food rations in Poland are twice as great for Germans as for Poles. The sale of fruit to Poles is forbidden. Poles are required to have special permits to enter church on Sundays and holidays. Three thousand Polish priests are reported to be in concentration camps. Confiscation of Polish homes and land continues, and while the Poles hunger, Germany exports food from Poland to feed her armies. To the Germans, this is all justifiable because the Pole is an inferior person and is treated as a serf. The treatment of all other subject nations is the same.

CONCLUSION

This is Nazi-Germany: completely regimented people devoid of moral conscience and belief in Christian principles; a country whose youth has been nurtured and nourished in the myth of German superiority and in a hatred of everything that runs counter to it. In creating Nazidom, Hitler has in the main simply followed the more fanatical theories of his nationalistic predecessors, but he has perfected two of the many techniques of those theories. These two techniques will be discussed in the next lecture.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Hitler has inculcated into the minds of the German people a belief in their racial superiority. What would be the consequences of such a doctrine practised in Canada?
- 2. We are told that the German people can be very kind and gentle. Why are they indulging in such cruelty and hatred to the Poles, the Czechs, the Jews and so many other people?
- 3. Hitler renounced completely all Christion principles. Could he ever build a great nation without these principles?
- 4. Have you ever known of any fifth-column activities in Canada? If Canada were invaded would there be much fifth-column help for the Germans?
- 5. Hitler has always made the schools teach his Nazi doctrines.
 What should our schools do about teaching citizenship?

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER VIII

THE HITLER METHOD

The Hitler Method:

Unprecedented lying.—Hitler gets his victim to trust him and thereby lulls him into a false sense of security. The bigger the lie, the better. He repudiates the very scheme he is planning to carry out.

"The New Order."—Hitler claims the "New Order" to be a Europe that is prosperous and peaceful under Nazi rule. It really is economic exploitation, cruelty and terror. By this method, he has obtained Nazi domination of the whole of Europe, enslaved populations of conquered countries, and makes them toil and sweat for a greater Germany.

Examples of the Hitler Method:

Austria.—Non-aggression treaty July 11, 1936.

In February, 1938, Hitler stated that it was necessary to remove misunderstandings and improve relations with Austria to guarantee to Nazi sympathizers in Austria the rights enjoyed by other citizens.

March 11, 1938—Hitler marched into Austria and took over complete control of the country.

Czecho-Slovakia.—Hitler told the Czechs that no aggression was intended against them.

Stirred up violent press campaign against Czechs. Stated that the Czechs wanted to annihilate Sudeten Germans, Sudetenland seized. Hitler stated that this was his last territorial claim in Europe.

Six months later, took over whole of Czecho-Slovakia.

"New Order" of peace began with arrests and executions. Provincial home rule system destroyed. Schools and universities closed. All scientific instruments removed to Germany. All economic control passed into German hands.

Poland.—January, 1934, Hitler signed a treaty to the effect that, if differences arose between the two countries, they would be settled by arbitration.

Hitler professed his friendship for Poland and his desire to respect her integrity as a nation again and again.

September, 1939, Hitler invaded Poland.

Attitude towards Poles is for extermination.

Constant "manhunts" for men who can be used for slave work in Germany, especially in areas subject to British bombardment. All high schools and universities closed. Educated Polish classes executed or removed.

Nazi reprisals for resistance terrible.
Gestapo particularly active in Poland.

SUMMARY—CHAPTER VIII—Concluded

Examples of the Hitler Method-Concluded

Norway and Denmark.—Hitler claimed that he was compelled to protect their freedom and interests because Great Britain and France were about to violate their neutrality to attack Germany.

Denmark submitted on the promise that her independence would be respected.

Norway offered resistance, but Germany soon overcame this resistance. Fifth Columnists particularly effective in overthrow of Norway.

Shameless looting of these two countries by Nazis.

Holland and Belgium.—May 9, 1940—Hitler declared that he had no intention of touching the sovereignty of these countries.

May 10, 1940—Two countries invaded by large German armies.

May 10, 1940—Two countries invaded by large German armies. Again Fifth Column gave great asistance in making the conquest complete.

Both Holland and Belgium reduced to slave states in every sense of the word. Administrative power in hands of the German Military Command.

France, Yugo-Slavia and Greece—Terror, famine and confiscation follow in Hitler's wake.

Conclusion

"The most shameful phenomenon of our age".

Chapter VIII

THE HITLER METHOD

There are two phases of the method of force which have been perfected by Hitler. They are his lying and his so-called "New Order".

The Shameless Lying

The outstanding, and to us to-day, the obvious characteristic of the Hitler method, is his persistent shameless lying. In his long series of aggressions on the countries of Europe, from the invasion of Austria onwards, Hitler has always lied deliberately, and publicly, as to his intentions. This has been his method of getting his victim to trust him and to have a false sense of security. Even after the victim country or individual has been overwhelmed and defeated, Hitler has continued to lie. He believes that the more monstrous the lie he makes, the more likely it is to be believed.

Men and women of central European descent are particularly well qualified to speak of the brazen effrontery of the Hitler lies. The resentment is felt not only in the conquered areas but also in those countries which officially are on the Nazi side. Stoyan Bristowe, a Bulgarian by birth, in an address delivered on September 21, 1941, before a Bulgarian-Macedonian Committee for Aid to Britain, gave expression to the fury of the awakened masses when he cried:

"Fascism? It's a lie. Naziism? It's a lie. They began as lies; they spread as lies spread; they lied their way to power at home, and they lied their way to power abroad."

The New Order

The other technique of the Hitler method has been his propaganda of a Europe prosperous under Nazi domination. He has called this the New Order for Europe. What this New Order really is we shall see later.

We have to consider those two techniques of the Hitler method each in its own setting because, although both derive from purposeful dishonesty, each is a separate Hitler technique. Just as some countries in Europe have been deluded by Hitler's technique of lying, so have many been enticed into his scheme

of things by his propaganda of the New Order for Europe. In this lecture we shall deal with the Hitler method of lying, and also with the facts of the New Order for Europe as it has turned out in reality to be. The cold facts of experience show that the picture painted by German propaganda of a Europe prosperous under Nazi domination is entirely false; that the Nazi pretence of looking after the welfare of the conquered as well as the conqueror is sheer hypocrisy; and that in reality, under Nazi domination, the victims of German aggression are reduced to a state of extreme poverty and slavery.

The Hitler Method

Addressing the Reichstag on May 17, 1933, Hitler said:

"Speaking deliberately as a German National Socialist, I desire to declare, in the name of the National Government, and of the whole movement of national regeneration, that we, of this young German movement, are filled with the deep understanding for the same feelings, opinions and for the rightful claims to life of the other nations. Our boundless love and loyalty to our own national traditions make us desire from the bottom of our hearts to live with them in peace and friendship. We therefore have no use for the idea of Germanization. The mentality of the past century which made our rulers believe that they could make Germans out of Poles and Frenchmen is completely foreign to us."

This is how Hitler began his rule of Germany—by posing as an apostle of peace and goodwill, resolved to respect the liberties of other nations. His technique has been, all the way through, to repudiate in advance the schemes which he was in fact preparing to carry out. He disclaimed any intention of arming Germany and asked for general disarmament of Europe. At that very moment Germany had begun her armament race to out-distance any other country in the world.

On November 10, 1933, Hitler said:

"I am insulted by the persistent assertion that I want war. Am I a fool? War! It would settle nothing. It would only make worse the state of the world. It would mark the end of our races who are elite, and in the course of time we should see Asia installed in our continent and Bolshevism triumphant . . . I have before me a long domestic task. I have restored to our people the idea of its honour. I want to give it once again the joy of life."

Speaking to the Reichstag on May 21, 1935, he said:

"Without taking the past into account, Germany has concluded a non-aggression pact with Poland. This is more than a valuable contribution to European peace, and we shall adhere to it unconditionally. Germany neither intends nor wishes to interfere in the internal affairs of Austria, to annex Austria or to include an Anschluss. But she desires that the right to self-determination should be guaranteed not only for foreign nations but to the German people everywhere."

Keep these words in mind when we deal with what Hitler

has done to these and other countries of Europe.

With statements such as these, Hitler sought to create a general feeling of security while his armaments were being feverishly expanded. When he was ready to strike he adopted similar tactics against each of his neighbours in turn.

AUSTRIA

The first to suffer from this assurance of Hitler's friendship was Austria. Hitler concluded a treaty with Austria in 1937 and on February 20, 1938, he said in the Reich:

"As to Austria, it had been essential to remove misunderstandings and obstacles to a final reconciliation. I am happy to say that those ideas correspond with the point of view of the Austrian Chancellor (Schuschnigg). The underlying idea was to bring about an improvement in relations which would guarantee to the Nazi sympathizers there, within the limits of the law, the same rights as were enjoyed by other citizens."

Nineteen days later, March 11, Hitler sent his armies into Austria and occupied the whole country. Hitler's excuse was the same one which he has practised so often since. He claimed the Germans in Austria were being oppressed.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

The Czech Minister in Berlin was assured when Austria was thus invaded that the occupation was in no way directed against Czecho-Slovakia. But Hitler wasted no time in stirring up a violent press campaign against the Czechs.

On September 12, 1938, Hitler told his Nuremberg party con-

gress:

"Three and a half million people were robbed of their right of self-determination; economically they were delib-

erately ruined and afterwards handed over to a slow process of extermination. The Czechs wanted to annihilate them."

There was absolutely no foundation to this statement which was made as a pretext for the seizure at the end of that month of the Sudetenland and other frontier districts of Czecho-Slovakia. Practising the same technique of lying which was serving him so successfully, Hitler declared in Berlin on September 26, 1938:

"The Sudetenland is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe. . . . I shall not be interested in the Czech State any more, and I can guarantee it. We don't want any Czechs at all."

On March 15, 1939, six months after this statement was made, the whole of Czecho-Slovakia was taken over by Hitler. Such is the consummate effrontery of Hitler as a liar, that, whilst he was depriving the Czechs of their lands and liberties, he could say that he was imbued with the sincere wish to secure the independent existence of the German and Czech nations.

The "New Order" for the Czechs

The Nazi "New Order" of peace which was forecast for Czecho-Slovakia began with wholesale arrests and executions. The provincial home rule which existed under the Czech Republic has been completely destroyed. More than a thousand students, teachers and professors have been deprived of their liberty. No Czech university remains open, and all scientific instruments have been removed to Germany. About half a million Czech workmen have been taken over the frontier to work in German factories. All economic control has passed into German hands and Czecho-Slovakian shops are being driven out of business by withholding from them necessary supplies. Large stocks of foodstuffs have been taken from Czecho-Slovakia to Germany.

The economic exploitation of Czecho-Slovakia was entirely without precedent in modern history. In the past, national minorities in various countries may have been subject to certain disabilities and disadvantages, but generally speaking, it is true to say that they had more or less the same chance to earn a decent living and to achieve prosperity as the ruling race, so long as they did not actively oppose the regime. This was the case in particular in the Czecho-Slovak republic, but Nazi propaganda showered torrents of abuse on the Czechs for their alleged ill-treatment of the German minorities. The proof of the pudding, however, is in the eating. The Sudeten Germans

remained, even under Czech rule, by far the most prosperous section of the people that inhabited Czecho-Slovakia. They owned vast industrial undertakings, and their standard of living was even higher than that of the Czechs. Notwithstanding this, these very same Sudeten Germans, assisted by the Nazi invaders set out to exploit and ruin their Czech fellow-citizens who in the past had treated them with such generous tolerance. For centuries the two races had lived peacefully side by side, but the Nazi system succeeded in arousing the worst human qualities in the Sudeten Germans, as it does in every one who embraces his political creed of intolerance and greed.

POLAND

If Hitler's word had meant anything at all, Poland would have been safe from attack. On January 26, 1934, a German and Polish treaty was made which stated that if differences should arise between the two countries, the solution would be sought by peaceful means on the basis of mutual agreement. In no case, it was definitely stated, would there be any resort to force in order to settle such conflicts. Again and again Hitler professed his friendship for Poland. In the Reichstag on May 21, 1935, he said:

"We recognize the Polish State as the home of a great patriotic nation, with the understanding and the cordial friendship of candid nations."

On September 26, 1938, he said again:

"I have been able to come to an understanding with Poland, because there I am dealing, not with a democracy, but with a man. I have recognized that a nation of thirty-three millions will always strive for an outlet to the sea. A way for an understanding in this respect has been found. . . . We have given guarantees for the states in the west. We have assured all our immediate neighbours of the integrity of their territory as far as Germany is concerned. That is no hollow phrase; it is our sacred will. We have no interest in breaking the peace. We want nothing from these peoples."

Yet the year after his speech in Berlin, professing his high regard for the beliefs and the land of the Polish people, Hitler, on September 1, 1939, suddenly invaded Poland with overwhelming forces.

To learn what this New Order has meant to Poland, we have to look at what has happened in Poland since September, 1939.

Hitler's purpose is to exterminate the Poles. The fertile plains of Poland are needed for Germany's "Lebensraum" or living space. They are to be settled gradually by Germans. A million of the best skilled workmen have been removed from their families and taken to Germany. There are constant "manhunts" for men who can be used for slave work in Germany, particularly in the areas that are subject to bombardments by the British. All high schools and universities have been closed. Over one hundred and eighty professors from the University of Krakow have been put in a concentration camp. Many of these have already died. The educated class such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, business men, professors and land owners have been executed or removed.

Nazi Reprisals

Reprisals for resistance are terrifying. Dr. Joseph P. Junosza, a Polish engineer who remained in Poland for many months after the occupation, and who finally escaped to America, describes the fate of innocent people who suffered death because someone escaped or because arms were discovered hidden or buried somewhere. A man suspected of undercover work escaped from Warsaw. Three hundred hostages were immediately imprisoned. A reward was offered for the apprehension of the suspect and a time limit of twenty-four hours set. When the time limit expired one hundred of the hostages were shot and the time extended another twenty-four hours. When this limit expired and the man was not forthcoming, another hundred were shot. Later the remaining hostages were deported and in course of time a report was issued that they had all died.

A machine gun was found buried in the ground in a small village. Two hundred of the inhabitants were herded together in a building and burnt alive in punishment for the offence.

Contempt for the Poles

The German Gestapo occupies the offices of the former Minister of Education of Poland. Into the building men and women are hurled. There are no trials, no appeals. The groans of the tortured victims in the basement can be heard out on the street. Those who do not meet with death are taken to concentration camps. There they are compelled to perform useless work. All day, in all kinds of weather, they pick stones out of rivers and throw them back at night. In other camps they wheel wheel-barrows full of stones from morning to night.

Poland is an example of Hitler's New Order for Europe—a Europe that he said would be prosperous and peaceful under Nazi guidance.

NORWAY AND DENMARK

The same deceitful course was followed by Hitler with his next victims—Norway and Denmark. He asserted that Great Britain and France were about to violate Norwegian and Danish neutrality in order to attack Germany. He was therefore compelled, he contended, to protect their freedom and interest as well as his own. Before waiting for the answer from the countries which he desired to protect, Hitler sent his German groops in large numbers into Norway and Denmark, and occupied their capitals and their towns. It was very evident that this invasion, because it was nothing else but an invasion, had been long prepared.

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM

On May 9, 1940, Hitler gave the following definite pledge to

the Dutch and Belgian governments:

"The Reich Government declares that Germany has no intention of touching the sovereignty and Kingdom of the Netherlands or Belgium, either with regard to their European or Colonial possessions, now, or in the future."

On May 10, the very next day, those two countries were invaded by large German armies, and parachutists in considerable numbers were dropped behind the lines. Fifth Columnists assisted in making the conquest of those countries complete. The unequalled and unprecedented efficiency of Hitler as a liar was maintained. He accused both Holland and Belgium of having planned to allow the allied forces to attack Germany through their countries. Yet the truth had been so obviously different because Holland and Belgium, far from having made any military schemes with Great Britain and France, had kept the allies so far away from them that it was extremely difficult to give them any military help when the sudden German attack was made. Both countries had observed the strictest neutrality even when their ships were sunk by German submarines and their frontiers violated by German aircraft.

Again, as in other countries, the Hitler method of lying was used to prepare the way to carry out the schemes which Hitler had in mind. The people of Holland were told by their German

conquerors:

"We do not come here to suppress and destroy a people and take freedom from a country. We do not want to press our political convictions upon her. We will leave Dutch law in force, employ Dutch officials, and preserve the independence of the administration of justice."

In Holland, whose government is in exile in London, the Nazis have complete control. Before the invasion, Holland had large reserves of food and other supplies. They are gone—taken by the Germans, upon pretense of payment in worthless paper marks. Over 100,000 Netherlanders have been sent to labour camps in Germany. Even the Nazis admit the terrible conditions in those camps. In speaking of them a German controlled paper in Utrecht says that they present a "most depressing picture".

The Germans tried to win over the Netherlands but without success; the resistance, in fact; has been so stubborn that the Nazis despair of converting them. In April 1942 the German

radio spokesman uttered these significant words:

"Instead of playing their part in the New Order they play truant. True, the ancient ways of life cannot be changed in a single day or even a year. The Netherlands people are animated by a common hatred for events which came to them from abroad. Their conscience as a Teutonic nation is rotted to such a degree that all hope for resurrection must be abandoned.

Yet one comfort remains—the present generation of

Netherlanders will die out some time."

Once in a while the Nazis reveal their ultimate objective.

Belgium is nothing more now than a slave state. Only those industries are kept alive which help maintain Germany's war machines. From the very beginning of the occupation the Nazis systematically drained the country of food. One must remember that normally Belgium produces only about half of her food requirements. The Belgians are hungry—even the children cannot get food.

Prices are an indication of the scarcity of food. In Belgium rabbits sell at \$2.00 a pound and potato peelings at 20 cents a pound.

VICHY FRANCE

In May and June 1940, Northern France was overrun by the German forces. The government had moved from Paris to Vichy. Suddenly, when the world expected that the government would retire to North Africa with the fleet and such part of the army as could escape and carry on from there, France asked for an armistice. This decision was reached by a small majority vote in a cabinet riddled with Nazi intrigue. This sudden surrender by Marshal Petain, Admiral Darlan and Pierre Laval will go down in history as an outstanding achievement of the Hitler method. It was the climax of fifth column activity coupled with treachery from within, eclipsing even the deeds

of Quisling whose name now stands for the lowest form of traitorous conduct.

The Vichy regime has been subservient to Berlin. To what extent this is through threats of force no one can tell. In occupied France the "New Order" is enforced in all its wickedness. Hitler's specialty is the murdering of innocent hostages, selected at random and executed, to avenge sabotage and offences against the German army of occupation. The continued sabotage in spite of these cruel reprisals shows that the masses of the people of France are determined to resist the shameful surrender.

YUGOSLAVIA AND GREECE

In none of the conquered countries has the savagery of the invaders been more brutal than in Yugoslavia and Greece. That was to be expected. But the conquest is being followed by something even worse. The youth of Serbia is to be Germanized. Here is what S. Petrovitch says in "The Sixth Column":

"From a letter by Kosta Krajshumovitch, the Yugoslav press attaché at Moscow, I learned how the Germans had gathered together 100,000 children from 12 to 15 years of age from various Serbian centres and forced them to march to Germany, feeding them with grass and roots found along the way and letting them drink water from contaminated swamps.

A large percentage of these children never reached their destination. The children who reached Germany were placed in various camps where they will learn German and read prescribed books written for the purpose of killing the soul of the Slavonic race and of teaching the children that they belong to a lower race which must serve the German Herrenvolk."

In Greece such methods are unnecessary. Men have been killed in battle, women and children die from starvation by the thousands. Normally Greece does not produce enough food for her needs; since the conquest, the German and Italian hordes of soldiers have taken everything they can get their hands on. Little remains for the unfortunate Greeks.

CONCLUSION

We have examined in some detail the Hitler method as it shows itself in the unprecedented lying and economic exploitation, cruelty and terror for conquered countries. This we have done in order to show that the cold facts of experience are evidence of the intentions of the Germans. Hitler has used those two techniques first of all to obtain Nazi domination of

the whole of Europe, and secondly to enslave the population of the conquered countries. The aim and purpose of Hitler is clear; it is to enslave the conquered people and make them toil and sweat for a greater Germany. That is the "New Order".

It is foul with untruth, wholesale greed, cruelty and treachery. The words of M. Litvinoff, now Russian Ambassador to the United States, in his broadcast of July 8, 1941, are sober truth: "The destruction of Hitlerism will mean the annihilation of the most shameful phenomenon of our age—the annihilation of the greatest obstacle to the development of civilization that has ever existed."

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Hitler has been most successful with all his lying. How do you account for this?
- 2. You have heard what Hitler has done to the invaded countries in Europe. What do you think he would do if he successfully invaded Canada?
- 3. Hitler offered a New Order to the people of Europe and the World. Why were so many people anxious to have a New Order? What has this New Order meant to the individual person in conquered countries?
- 4. Do you think that all the German people believed Hitler's lies? Why has Hitler been so successful in his propaganda of a New Order with the youth of Germany?
- 5 Have any of you received first-hand information as to what has happened or is happening to the people in European countries?
- 6. What do you think will be the effects on the German people when they realized how Hitler has lied to them and misled them?

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER IX

JAPAN

Introduction:

The Japanese theory similar to that of Nazi Germany.

The Japanese Empire:

A cluster of islands roughly paralleling east coast of Asia. Densely populated—if Korea is included the population is 100,000,000.

The Japanese Religion:

Shintoism, the national Japanese religion, is simply worship of Japan and its people. The Emperor is supposed to be a direct descendant of the Sun-goddess; other Japanese, descendants of lesser

The Meiji Restoration 1868:

By it the Emperor becomes the absolute head of Japan; it marks the beginning of the material growth of Japan and also the revival of Shintoism.

In 1887 was inaugurated the present Japanese policy of watchful waiting followed by a swift unannounced attack when the opportune moment had arrived.

The Tanaka Memorial, 1927, lays down the expansion programme of Imperial Japan.

World Peace Broken:

Japan was the first nation to break the covenant of the League of Nations. It is now known that the bomb explosion at Mukden in Manchuria on September 18, 1931, was prearranged by Japanese agents. Thus Japan really started the war.

Japanese Aggression:

The Japanese, like the Nazis, feel that they are a superior race and are entitled to rule. This they propose to carry out by force of arms. They have engaged in five wars in fifty years.

Treachery is a special characteristic of the Japanese; it has been

woven into the national fabric and is an attribute of the ideal

Japanese hero.

Hatred and Cruelty:

These are designedly nurtured. The Japanese claim that their soldiers are animated by a religion of loyalty and patriotism which they call "Bushido". This is nothing but a cultivated hatred and cruelty reduced to the level of calculated sadism.

The Japanese Treatment of Conquered Peoples:

It is exactly the same as that of the Nazis. Korea, under Japan since 1910, is Exhibit I of the treatment which the tyrant nations propose to accord nations which fall under their domination. The Koreans, a once proud and highly civilized Asiatic people, are now reduced to a state which a Japanese economist has called "" "utter desperation and barren stolidity".

The New Order in Japan:

The Japanese call it "co-prosperity". It is exactly the same as the Nazi "New Order" force ruthlessly applied until the conquered peoples have been reduced to a state of abject slavery.

Chapter IX

JAPAN

We have discussed tyranny in Germany with particular emphasis on the Hitler method. We noted that the war with Germany was a fight and that the fate of present day civilization hangs in the balance.

But this does not mean that Germany is the only culprit nor necessarily the worst one. If that were the case, then a crushing defeat of Germany and a cessation of hostilities in the Orient would largely eliminate dangers of future wars. But the same false and dangerous theory of life is practised and preached elsewhere. There is another great Power which has adopted a philosophy or way of life which is remarkably similar to that of Nazi Germany. In fact, it can be stated truly that this other country has applied the same theories with equal brutality, with a greater cunning, and with even more repulsive duplicity. That other country is Japan.

THE JAPANESE EMPIRE

The Japanese Empire consists of a large cluster of islands a short distance to the east of Asia, roughly paralleling the coast of China. The main island called Honshiu is sometimes called Nippon which means the "origin of the sun". Hence, the common use of the word Nippon when referring to Japan. The total area, including Korea and the South Sea Mandated Territories, is about 275,000 square miles and comprises over 3,000 islands.

Japan is densely populated. The estimated population of Japan proper on October 1, 1938, was 72,222,700, and if Korea and the rest of the Empire are included the total is around 100,000,000. There are three main reasons why Japan can support such a large population. The climate on the principal islands is hot and humid through the summer but fairly cold and invigorating in the winter. All arable land is under cultivation in small holdings. Japan is by far the most highly industrialized country in the Orient.

The Japanese, like the Germans, believe in the superiority of their own race. Their Emperor is supposed to be a direct descendant of a grandson of the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu O Mikami, and all other Japanese trace their descent from lesser gods. This fantasy is of the very essence of the purely national religion of Japan, Shintoism, which in recent years has been intensively cultivated in the minds of the Japanese people. With its growth, both Buddhism and Christianity have receded.

John Gunther says in "Inside Asia":

"Shintoism, in essence, is simply worship of Japan, the nation itself. In Japan I felt that I was beginning to understand something of the Nazi religious impulses and ideas. Worship of the State, with Hitler as its prophet, is strikingly like Shinto and Emperor worship in Japan."

Now there is a movement on foot to force the Shinto religion upon all the countries which Japan has conquered. For instance, the right to worship as they please is forbidden to the peoples of Korea who, by a recent decree, are required to instal Shinto shrines in their homes. It is reported that when American missionaries protested against this decree they were fined and imprisoned.

THE MEIJI RESTORATION

Although the Japanese belief in divine descent is as old as the nation itself, it did not become an accepted part of the daily life of the people until the last eighty years. By the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the Emperor for the first time became the absolute head of Japan. Prior to that he had remained in relative obscurity in his Kyoto palace, exercising power in theory rather than in practice. The Meiji Era (1868 to 1912) marks the birth and growth of modern Japan, politically, economically and spiritually. It is a most amazing period of economic and industrial expansion. In fact the material growth of Japan and the spiritual revival of Shintoism coincided with one another. Each influenced and gave impetus to the other and provided a union of forces at once powerful and ruthless.

Policy of Watchful Waiting

It was only in recent years that the world did see these forces extending their iron grip in all directions, but it was not very long after the Meiji settlement that writings began to appear from responsible officers of State which gave some foreboding of what was to come. In 1887, one of the leaders, Viscount Tani, uttered the following very portentious words:

"Make our country secure by military preparations encourage and protect the people at home, and then wait for the time of the confusion of Europe which must come, sooner or later; and although we have no immediate concern with it ourselves we must feel it, for such an event will agitate the nations of the Orient as well, and hence, although our country is not mixed up in the matter, so far as Europe is concerned, we may become the chief of the Orient."

This marks the beginning of the Japanese policy of watchful waiting, followed by a sudden attack without warning, timed to strike when the Great Powers of the Occident are either at each other's throats, or in a state of exhaustion following a previous struggle.

But this policy of watchful waiting only applied to a major war against the other Great Powers. It did not prevent thrusts in the Orient from time to time, such as the Sino-Japanese war (1894-5), the Russo-Japanese war (1904-5), the conquest of Manchuria (1931-3) or the attack of China (1937-). It did not even delay the actual plans for the final act of aggression which, because of the territory covered, were bound to involve both Great Britain and the United States. Long before Hitler came on the scene, and before any other nation dared even contemplate a violation of the covenant in the League of Nations, Japan had outlined her program.

The Tanaka Memorial

On July 25, 1927, Premier Baron G. Tanaka presented a memorial or state paper to the Emperor of Japan. This now infamous memorial was prepared, as Tanaka says, upon instructions to "lay plans for the Far East" and also to "watch for opportunities for further expansion".

To indicate the far-reaching and sweeping nature of the plan only one paragraph need be quoted:

"Japan cannot remove the difficulties in Eastern Asia unless she adopts a policy of 'Blood and Iron'. But in carrying out this we have to face the United States which has been turned against us by China's policy of fighting poison with poison. In the future if we want to control China, we must first crush the United States just as in the past we had to fight in the Russo-Japanese war. But in order to conquer China we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China, the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Sea countries will fear us and surrender to us. Then the world will realize that Eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights. This is the plan left to us by Emperor Meiji, the success of which is essential to our national existence."

This was written in 1927—nine years after Japan had fought alongside of China and the United States as her allies. It is not lifficult to imagine the contempt with which Japan has viewed her own as well as the signatures of others to the Treaty of Versailles and to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

WORLD PEACE BROKEN

As was to be expected Japan did not wait long before she liscovered, or rather made, a pretext for breaking the Covenant. An "incident", to which we have already referred in lecture VI, occurred in Manchuria. On September 18, 1931, a bomb exploded on the Manchurian Railway not far from Mukden. This provided the Japanese with an excuse for occupying Manchuria—a territory three times the size of Japan, containing a population of about 40,000,000 and great agricultural and mineral resources.

Lord Lytton, who was the chairman of the Commission appointed by the League of Nations to report upon Japan's aggression against Manchuria, has given his impression of the part that Japan played in bringing about the present world tragedy. He says in part:

"She was the first of the Great Powers to violate her treaty obligations, to attack a peaceful and defenceless neighbour, and to introduce the technique of official lying and fabricated 'incidents' with which the world has grown so familiar in recent years . . . China had experienced the activities of the Fifth Columnists before the Spanish Civil War coined the expression . . . She had her quislings before Norway was invaded and that gentleman had provided the world with a new international word for 'traitor'."

JAPANESE AGGRESSION

Japanese aggression rests upon the same fallacy as that of Germany. The individual is led to believe that his race is of a nobler and higher origin than others and hence entitled to rule. Thus the whole nation is elevated to a position of superiority over others. We of the West find it difficult to understand how a man with common sense could actually accept such a myth, but it is amazing how generally it has been accepted in Japan. R. M. B. Nickols, formerly Professor of English at Tokio University, says:

"To the Japanese their civilization constitutes a superior civilization. It is not difficult for them to believe this since

nine out of ten Japanese understand that the original Japanese were not born like you and me but were the offspring of the sun."

The moment this dangerous myth dominates the thoughts of the leaders of a nation there is bound to be trouble. They feel an urge and a duty to carry it out and proceed upon a policy of expansion. They find it easy to become dictators at home over a people who are equally ready to accept the myth. The way is then paved for attacks upon neighbouring states.

This is exactly what has happened. Japan has been engaged in five wars within fifty years, including the present world war. Her programme of expansion may at first have been limited to the Far East but the horizon is widening very fast.

Japanese Treachery

A most sinister cunning and loathsome duplicity are characteristic of the Japanese, and have been woven into the very fabric of their national life. In some fields the Germans may have out-distanced the Japanese but in the field of doublecrossing the Japanese are a lap ahead. They sent their smiling emissary of peace, Saburo Kurusu, to the United States at the very time when the plans for the attack on Pearl Harbour were nearing completion. But the attack on December 7, 1941, was not an isolated case of extreme international depravity, it was the last of a series of similar acts extending back to 1895. In fact this special type of treachery is recognized in Japan as part of the Japanese character. One of Japan's present writers, Asihei Hino, in a war book called "Wheat and Soldiers" characterizes the Japanese ideal hero as one who is cunning as well as brave and ready to resort to any trick to overcome his enemy. He depicts his hero as boasting of his atrocities. What an ideal!

HATRED AND CRUELTY

Although all men can learn to hate and are capable of showing a certain degree of cruelty to those who would destroy them, it is only in the minds of people who are steeped in the Master Race concept that one finds hatred designedly nurtured until it gets beyond all control, resulting in cruelty at the level of calculated sadism. We have already noted these abnormalities in the Nazis but they are equally common in the Japanese, particularly in their attitude towards those whom they regard as of an inferior breed such as the people of Manchuria, Mongolia and China proper. It should be remembered that the White Race is now included in this category.

Japanese leaders claim that their forces are animated by a lofty, self-effacing spirit of chivalry which they call "Bushido". It is supposed to be an outward expression of a new religion of loyalty and patriotism. But the word covers something very different: new types of cruelty, treachery and human depravity. Photographs have reached America of Japanese officers amusing themselves by drawing blood from the naked bodies of blindfolded Chinese prisoners. If not already dead the prisoners are finished off by the infantrymen for practice in bayonet drill.

This describes what happened in the valley of China in Shansi Province after the Japanese had occupied it:

"Village after village completely destroyed. Houses shattered and burned, wells fouled, bridges destroyed, roads torn up. In some of the villages every single woman without exception was raped by the soldiers in occupation. Male villagers were stripped naked, lashed to carts and driven forward with the same pitiless fury until they collapsed, died, or were driven mad."

This is "Bushido"—the Japanese religion of loyalty and patriotism and conquest.

THE JAPANESE TREATMENT OF CONQUERED PEOPLES

We have noted the German treatment of peoples such as the Poles and the Czecho-Slovaks. As the Japanese objective is so similar to that of the Nazis, one would expect a similar treatment by the Japanese of those whom they have brought under their heel. Such is actually the case. Both countries are equally determined that there shall be a complete enslavement of the conquered nations. The Japanese have an advantage; they have been in the business longer. They embarked upon their course of enslavement over forty years ago. A study of the areas which were first subdued should, therefore, give a pretty accurate picture of the ultimate conditions which will obtain in any country which happens to be in the path of the aggressors.

The country selected is Korea

The Koreans rightly claim a civilization older and finer than that of the Japanese. It was, therefore, not a case of subduing a few semi-barbarian tribes and making slaves of them.

Korea was captured in 1910—by treachery. It is one of a series of such treacheries culminating in Pearl Harbour. Korea was a country much prized by the Japanese both as a source of supply of rice and as a stepping stone to China. In 1904,

during the Russo-Japanese war, the Korean King allowed Japanese troops to enter and pass through Korea. He was influenced by previous events and a pledge given by Japan guaranteeing the independence of Korea. But instead of withdrawing the army after the war, Japan kept it in Korea and in 1910 most unceremoniously broke the treaty, made five years before, and annexed Korea.

What are the results after thirty years of Japanese domination? They have not been such as to win the co-operation of the Koreans. There is a strong Korean organization in exile with headquarters in Washington. Four days after the attack on Pearl Harbour, this Korean government declared war on Japan! Thousands of Koreans are already fighting in the Chinese armies. This certainly suggests that during the last thirty years there has been an iron rule in Korea, rather than friendly co-operation with a conquered people.

But conditions in Korea itself disclose much better the thoroughness of the Japanese enslavement of this once proud people. The story can best be told in the words of an international writer, George Kent, in an article published in the April, 1942 issue of Asia, a leading periodical on the Orient.

Mr. Kent in part says:

"The wealth of the country has been pumped across the sea to Nippon (Japan), with an icy disregard for the welfare of the people. If you walk along the streets of Seoul, the Korean capital, you will see only Japanese shops filled with Japanese goods. The store clerks are Japanese and so are the well-dressed individuals on the sidewalks. The Koreans are hawking vegetables, pulling rickshaws, carrying heavy loads—

To the farmers, who comprise eighty-five per cent of the population, the conquest has meant a systematic house-to-house looting. . . . To-day close to 18,000,000 men, women and children—out of a total population of 23,000,-000—have become tenants and squatters. . . .

Their state of mind, as described by a Japanese economist has become one of 'utter desperation and barren stolidity'. A home-loving people, they are obliged to shift quarters each year because the Japanese owners will not make arrangements with the Korean tenants for more than a twelve-month period. A tenant's share of the crop, when all deductions are made, comes to about seventeen per cent, or enough to give him an annual income of about ten dollars. . . .

Each spring, millions of farmers and their families are obliged to roam the barren hillsides, scratching up roots and bark and weeds in order to keep from dying of hunger. 'It is the land of the spring starvation,' the Governor-General (Japanese) writes in his annual report."

This is the type of conquest both the Nazis and the Japanese have in mind. Korea has provided the pattern for the more recent conquests, such as Manchuko and occupied China. But an additional and a particularly diabolical weapon has been used—the drug traffic. Mr. Chi Shih-ying, Director of The Review of Time and Tide published in Chungking, China, said in the April, 1942 number of The China Monthly.

"They (the Japanese) believe that the best way to paralyze Chinese is to undermine the stamina of the Chinese people so utterly that all will to resist will automatically cease. To this end, they are industriously peddling opium, heroin, cocaine and other drugs all over Manchuria."

The same fate as that of the Koreans and the people of Manchuko awaits many a people of many climes and colours if the tyrant nations are victorious in the present struggle.

OUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Why are the Japanese so cruel to the Chinese and others whom they have conquered?
- 2. Do you think Hitler would have done what the Japanese did at Pearl Harbour?
- 3. Should the Japanese in this country be deported after the war is over?
- 4. Would it be possible to persuade you or people whom you know that people of our race are descended from gods and hence are superior and should rule the world?

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER X

PART I.—ITALIAN FASCISM

PART II.—THE TOTALITARIAN TECHNIQUES

Introduction:

Striking similarity between the Nazi and Japanese theories.

PART I.—ITALIAN FASCISM

In Italy the State, not the Race, is Deified:

The Fascists of Italy claim that no human or spiritual values exist outside of the state.

Italian Fascism has same Characteristics:

The essentials of Fascism in Italy are the same as elsewhere as for instance

- (a) Disappearance of conscience
- (b) Cruelty
- (c) Propaganda.

The Weakness of the Fascist War Machine:

Fascism did not grip the people of Italy to the same extent as in Germany and Japan. Part of the explanation is to be found in the influence of the church.

PART II.—THE TOTALITARIAN TECHNIQUES

The Ten Fundamentals of the Science of Force:

Total military and civil power in the leader or in a small group. Complete control over every activity.

Two classes of mankind-master and slave.

Conscience and humanity disappear-all sense of right and wrong lost. People regarded as inferior, treated brutally.

Hatred of others—leaders carefully foster this as hatred is a very strong driving force.

Religion disappears-leader and party supreme. The people of a totalitarian state really worship themselves.

Mass propaganda—this is practised on the assumption that a nation is made up of so many men with a mind which in the mass can be easily influenced.

Fifth column activities—emissaries sent out to different countries in guise of trading agents, travel agents, etc. Purpose is to lessen resistance of civilian population of these countries while they are still at peace.

Bloodless wars—waged in the economic, social and political field as well as by threat of arms.

Total war-made possible by total power. Only way to meet it is by total effort.

Total conquest—a new technique whereby there is evolved a complete plan of enslavement of the conquered people.

Chapter X

Part I—ITALIAN FASCISM Part II—THE TOTALITARIAN TECHNIQUES

Introduction

We have discussed the methods employed by Germany and Japan in their mad advance for domination and power. One is at once struck with the similarity in their methods. That they should be similar is, however, obvious. The fundamental theories are the same. In both countries are manifestations of the same abnormalities of mind. The preliminary steps are along the same lines; the ultimate objectives in each conquered area are exactly the same. The whole vicious plan pales into insignificance all previously known schemes of human tyranny. In one respect it is gangsterism and brigandage which have struck a new low; in another it is science built upon profound and extensive study and applied with an art of consummate skill and minute thoroughness. The accumulated knowledge of mankind, the discoveries of science, inventions in mechanical equipment and weapons of destruction, the weakness and the strength of the human being, the mystery of man's relation to the Beyond-all is amassed for the single purpose of constructing a national machine for obtaining complete control of all mankind. As force is the vitalizing energy behind the whole scheme, we may refer to the way of life the tyrant nations have adopted as the Science and Art of Force.

As there is a similarity in method, it is both necessary and essential to analyze the successive steps as revealed in the record and attempt to draw from them clear and definite conclusions.

Part I-FASCISM IN ITALY

But before that is done we should briefly discuss a third nation which has sought to apply the same doctrine. That nation is Italy. If in Italy there is found a similar cause producing a similar effect, strength is added to the contention that wherever and whenever the myth of a Master Race or People is accepted, the effect on the national life in that country will be the same. It must be admitted that the application of force by Italy was successful for only a short time and in the face of only weak opposition. In fact it may be said that the whole glittering

Fascist machine of Italy at best was little more than sounding brass and tinkling cymbal, soon reduced to the level of the tin can tied to a dog's tail. But the intention was there, the same outward manifestations producing the same methods, aiming in the same direction.

Italian Fascism is based upon the same principles as the philosophies in Germany and Japan except that in Italy it is the state rather than the race which is exalted to a deified position. It is a revival of the Imperial Roman Empire, a dominant Imperial Italy rather than a dominant superior race. In "The Doctrine of Fascism" we find the following:

"Therefore, for the Fascist, everything is in the State, and nothing human or spiritual exists, much less has value, outside of the State. . . . The Fascist State is a will to power and to government."

Disappearance of Conscience

But whether it is the state or the race that is deified the attitude towards other states and peoples will be the same. There is a complete disappearance of moral conscience as we understand and feel it. Edvard Benes, the former President of Czecho-Slovakia, in his book, "Democracy, To-day and Tomorrow" says:

"Fascism does not accept for its theory and doctrine or for its practice, any principle other than that it cannot be bound in its actions or policy by any principle."

It was this lack of "principle" which led Mussolini to a cowardly attack on France in that nation's darkest hour. That attack was the occasion of the stinging rebuke by President Roosevelt:

"The hand that held the dagger has struck it in the back of its neighbour."

Cruelty

Cruelty is an essential part of the Fascist doctrine. This was strikingly evidenced in the conquest of Abyssinia in 1935-36. It is reported that the Italians actually used poison gas to overcome the almost defenceless natives. In contrast to the Italian methods is the recognized attitude of the British. Life Magazine reports that when General Graziani, the conqueror of Ethiopia and former commander of the Italian forces in Libya, marched out of Bengasi before the advancing British forces, he said to the residents left behind:

"You stay here, the British are coming, but they are gentlemen. They will treat you kindly."

Propaganda

The propaganda in Italy was just as thorough as in Germany. There was complete control of the press, the movies, the radio, the educational system and trade organizations. The same special appeal was made to youth through various recreational activities.

When students and others engaged in political demonstrations, the outbursts centred on the slogan: "Down with Democracy". This is instructive for it shows clearly that to the Fascists of Italy the present war is a clash between two opposing ways of life; force under the guise of "The New Order", against Freedom as exemplified in the Western democracies.

THE WEAKNESS OF THE FASCIST WAR MACHINE

The Italians have failed so miserably in this war that one might be misled into the erroneous inference that the Fascist pattern of the theory of force is different and not so dangerous as the others. It would be a mistake to come to this conclusion. There are other reasons why the Italians have failed so badly. One of them is the influence of the Vatican.

The Influence of the Church

No one is going to detract from the glorious spirit of the Greeks, the Australians and the British forces, naval and military, in the Middle East. They, no less than the others of the United Nation forces, have been an inspiration to the whole democratic world. The poor showing of the Italians does not lessen the credit due these brave men. But the fact remains that Fascism did not produce the same driving force in Italy as elsewhere. One of the reasons for this is the lack of enthusiasm for the cause. The Italians were never wholeheartedly in the war, the reason being that Fascism did not succeed in gripping the Italian people so completely as Naziism in Germany and Emperor worship in Japan. Part of the explanation of that is to be found in the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. Hitler is represented as the Messiah of the Germans. The Emperor of Japan is to the Japanese a direct descendant of the Sun Goddess. The Fascists of Italy did not succeed in elevating Mussolini to that lofty position. The farthest they could go was in the Fascist Decalogues, issued in 1934 and 1938, when they said:

"Mussolini is always right."

The counteracting influence of the Church was too strong. There could not be two spiritual loyalties.

PART II—FUNDAMENTALS OF THE SCIENCE AND ART OF FORCE

We have now examined the main characteristics of the course of conduct of the three nations which believe in force as their guiding principle. The following emerge as the ten fundamentals upon which their whole system of aggression is based.

1. Complete Control

In the countries we have mentioned, complete control is maintained over every activity great or small, local or of an international character. This can be accomplished only by placing absolute military and civil power in a leader or a small group. In Germany it is Hitler, in Italy Mussolini, and in Japan the military and naval leaders. The individual ceases to be a human being and becomes a mere cog in a wheel. He is told where he is to work, what he is to do, even what he is to think.

2. Mankind Divided into Two Classes

Mankind is supposed to be divided into two classes. In the literature and propaganda of these countries we again and again read of "The Lord and the Serf Race"; "The Master and the Slave Class"; "The Son of the Sun Goddess". This is carried out in actual practice. The Poles were made slaves, the Manchurians became coolies, the Ethiopians were reduced to serf-dom. It is declared by the Axis that there cannot be a halt, the process must be continued until the division of all of mankind into the two classes has been completed.

3. Hatred and Cruelty

The Master Race brooks no interference. It hates those who offer resistance or who even disagree with it. This hatred is not only spontaneous; it is very methodically nurtured in the minds of the people, especially youth. The leaders know that hatred can become a very strong driving force; they are always creating "symbols of Satan" which must be attacked and destroyed. These symbols of evil may be Communists, Jews, Chinese, the British or Americans; or they may be ideas such as Democracy or Christianity.

Cruelty follows in the path of Hatred. It also is not wholly spontaneous but is encouraged by the leaders. The effect is two-fold—to weaken resistance by striking terror in the victim nation, and to harden their own people to even more blood-curdling acts of tyranny.

4. Religion Disappears

The man, who, under the spell of the leader, gets himself into the hypnotic state where he believes that he and those associated with him in the Master groups are superior to others, will in course of time, reach the stage where, to him, there cannot be a Supreme Being. He and his group have become supreme. They develop an autotheism (self-worship) and so do not allow any other loyalty to conflict with theirs. They do not worship wooden images; they worship themselves. For that reason the twentieth century form of paganism is so much worse and more dangerous than that of our heathen ancestors.

5. Conscience and Humanity Disappear

The Superior races or classes lose all sense of rightness and wrongness, as we understand it, towards those they deem to be of the lesser breed. To do wrong is right in their eyes if it serves their purpose.

6. Mass Propaganda

To carry out their program of conquest, the tyrant states have devised a system of mass propaganda which operates primarily within the state, but reaches out as well into the victim countries. It is a relatively new but a powerful weapon. There is complete control of every agency within the state which may influence the masses, such as the press, the radio, the movies, clubs, youth movements, recreation organizations. It is a state monopoly and no contradicting voice is allowed to be heard. In this way the myth of the Master Race and its destiny is to be sold to the masses.

Goebbels says:

"You can make a man believe anything if you tell it to him in the right way, and a nation is only so many men with a mind which in the mass can be easily influenced."

A special effort is made to reach youth. In 1934 Herr Hitler said:

"National Socialism directs its most urgent and most intense appeal to the young people."

Thus a vicious zeal is engendered through a maze of misconception born of deliberate and purposeful lying. This provides the driving force in the masses. It creates the dynamic character of which we hear so much in the Fascist states. It is seized upon by the leaders and harnessed to their war machines.

7. Bloodless Wars

In applying the science of force, actual war, as we understand, is preceded by careful and far reaching preparation in the economic, political, and military fields, correlated by intense propaganda. Professor Frank Munk, an American of Czecho-Slovakian descent, points out that in the waging of these bloodless wars there is a definite time-table of economic and propaganda aggression.

As a pretext there is a bitter complaint about encirclement and lack of "living space". Germany, Japan and Italy have all made this complaint. Encirclement must be met by a threat of war. That threat is the last step before the march in. If resistance is offered or even suggested, armed forces, already on the border, strike without warning.

In this way Germany occupied Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and Denmark; Italy overran Albania; and Japan took control over Indo-China and Thailand.

8. Total Preparation

But an end had to come to the bloodless wars. The aggressor nations recognized this and hence prepared carefully for the resistance which they knew would come. They prepared for the inevitable war and the preparation was just as complete and thorough as the war itself. Total war was preceded by total preparation.

The preparation was of two kinds. The one was within the country itself and largely in the open; the other was outside and more or less camouflaged. Within there was complete political control; production of armaments on a colossal scale; training of huge forces, naval, military, air—everything co-ordinated and directed to the national objective which was conquest.

The preparation without took place in the countries which were to be attacked or brought under control. Being hidden it was for that very reason more dangerous. There was an actual invasion but it was invisible. There were no obstacles. The doors were wide open and there were no barriers to cross. The invader settled in the victim country and proceeded to sap its strength. This invisible invader has a name—The Fifth Column. Emissaries were sent out under the cover of trading agencies, travel bureaus and other social and cultural organizations. They were not only sent to countries in the direct path of the aggressors (though at peace with them) but even to others which were more remote. Germany had her fifth column in every country in the world. Japan was more modest; her emissaries

had only reached Asia, the South Sea Islands, South America, the Pacific outposts of the United States and the Western Coast of North America. Not a bad start.

Fifth columnism is of two kinds, positive and negative. The former is propaganda, painting in the most glowing terms the virtues of the Fascist states. The sense of superiority is something which can be easily transplanted. It has its appeal. For that reason, quislings are to be found in all countries ready to spring up the moment the armed invasion begins.

The negative aspect is propaganda seeking to lower morale and thus lessen resistance in the country to be attacked. It fastens upon every activity where there appears to be discord and seeks to magnify it. It encourages race hatreds, labour disputes, class distinctions; seeks to undermine recognized democratic and religious institutions; and above all tries to spread falsehoods which might cause friction between friendly nations.

France is perhaps the best example of the devastating effect of fifth column activity. Edmund Taylor in "The Strategy of Terror", speaking of German propaganda in France, says:

"It appealed solely to the emotions, and used the successful advertising technique of endlessly repeating the same idea. One tract scattered by air was shaped like a leaf and said, 'Next spring when the offensive comes you will fall as the autumn leaves—and for what?' Another had the shape of a coffin and simply said, 'Frenchmen, prepare your coffins.' Day after day, month after month, German propaganda kept hammering away with lunatic monotony on the single theme: 'England will fight to the last Frenchman'."

The fifth column is the sinister part of total preparation.

9. Total War

When the fifth column has done its work and invading armies march, then total war begins. That means that everyone participates and anyone may be attacked.

We read in our history books of famous battles in which opposing armies faced each other and used their weapons against each other. At times there was treachery on either side and although the results were accepted, the acts were frowned upon as unchivalrous.

To-day, war is different. We call it total war. We have tried to observe the rules if there are any left. But the Axis powers have rewarded the killers of helpless women and children

with iron crosses and stars of the sun. No one is safe from the ravages of war. You are part of any army that will free the world of acts of aggression and needless slaughter of human beings.

10. Total Conquest

It is after the war is over and a country has been conquered that the real suffering begins. A new technique in conquest has been devised and made a part of the program of the Tyrant Nations. It goes under the high-sounding but deceiving title, "The New Order". According to this technique the conquered peoples are systematically reduced to a state of slavery. Those offering resistance, active or passive, are liquidated; but that is not the fate of all. Others are left whose mentality is such that they and their progeny might become willing slaves. Dr. A. N. Sack, Professor of Law at New York University, says:

"The barbarous German practices in the war have a twofold purpose: to prevent national resurrection of the vanquished people and to create in the conquered land living room for the new masters. The ghastly means of accomplishing this purpose has been selective execution of religious, educational and political leaders of the subjugated people; wholesale slaughter of selected classes of people and of everybody in selected populated places; starvation, disease and cold—as the result of plunder, devastation by mass deportation of human cattle in freight trains under conditions certain to kill off most of them before or soon after arrival at the uninhabitable place of destination."

Those who are taken to Germany to do forced labour fare no better. Councillor Timm of the Reich Ministry of Labour said on December 9, 1941, that over four million foreigners were at that time employed in Germany. We know what kind of employment is meant. The subjugated peoples have to "work to death, or starve to death". In some areas when workers are called for and they do not appear, their parents or other close relatives are held as hostages in concentration camps until they are produced.

When the Japanese and the Nazis say that their Master Races are to rule over other Slave Races, they mean exactly what they say.

OUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Which of the ten fundamentals of this Science of Force do you think is the greatest obstacle to progress in civilization? Why?
- 2. What would a sportsman say of the conduct of the aggressor countries? How would it conflict with his creed?
- 3. Why would the influence of the Church lessen the enthusiasm of the Italians for Mussolini's philosophy?
- 4. If someone said: "This is total war," what would you think he meant?
- 5 Do you think that the totalitarian states will ever clash?

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER XI

OUR PRECIOUS FREEDOM

The Fight for Freedom:

Greece.—Greek battle fought in 480 B.C. at Thermopylae. Another Thermopylae against tremendous odds was fought in this war by the Greeks and the British.

Magna Carta.—June 15, 1215, King John of England forced to sign the document which assured Britons of every generation to come freedom and justice. Princes, politicians, and prelates have failed to repudiate this.

The Struggle for Christianity:

Ignatius Loyola.—The Jesuit Order and its martyrs in England and Canada gave their services and lives for freedom's sake.

Bishop Latimer.—400 years ago Bishop Latimer was burned at the stake because he attacked the religious injustices of the day. To-day Pastor Niemoeller and many others are suffering because of their determination to worship a Christian God.

The Fight for Democracy:

William Lyon Mackenzie—Through his newspaper, he attacked the political injustices in Canada 120 years ago. His printing press was thrown into Toronto Bay but he re-established himself. After being elected to represent the people five times and being expelled from the Assembly each time, he continued to fight for freedom of speech in Canada.

Louis Joseph Papineau.—A native son of Lower Canada who demanded Responsible Government. His actions helped us win a portion of our autonomy.

"Our Precious Freedom":

Play written by Arch Oboler depicting life under Nazi rule. The free peoples of many countries have been deprived of their liberty and subjected to misery and privation overnight in much the same way as was the hero of this story. Unless we fight for our freedom, it will be taken away from us. Freedom has come to us without any effort on our part and we are now living in a security for which others are giving their lives.

Gestapo Enters the Home:

When Hitler came into power, he first forced his Nazi Philosophy into the homes of the German people. The most popular German movie of a short time ago told the story of a child who loved the Fuehrer and the Fatherland so dearly that he betrayed his parents.

SUMMARY-CHAPTER XI-Concluded

Home Starts Training in Democracy:

To live in a democratic society is to recognize the rights of others. In a free society, the individual learns voluntarily to control his desires for the good of the whole. The first lesson a child learns in the home is to live with others and to regard their comfort and convenience. Hitler has robbed Germany of the security of the home.

We have not Reached Our Goal:

Our Society has stressed excessive individualism.

Need to remember the other fellow.

Four ways of generosity—ideas, backgrounds, opportunities, peoples.

The Balance between Authority and Freedom:

Freedom of individual action is the cornerstone upon which all progress in the democracies is based.

Every step in this freedom has been fought for through centuries and

this has been swept away overnight in Europe.
Our responsibility is to make that freedom real in the lives of a greater number of people.

Chapter XI

OUR PRECIOUS FREEDOM

Why are we fighting this war? We are fighting for our individual and collective freedom. What then, is this freedom?

In trying to answer that question, we do it with the knowledge that the words we use often have little meaning. Continued repetition seems to cushion our consciousness.

Whatever else we may say of freedom, it is something for which men, through the ages, have been willing to fight. All through history, this battle for freedom has gone on with differing degrees of intensity. It has been fought in every country where man has lived.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Greece

In the year 480 B.C. Leonidas made his heroic stand at the pass of Thermopylae in Greece. He was King of Sparta, a country which had developed to a very high degree the rights and duties of citizenship. The culture of Greece was being assailed by the numerous barbaric hordes of Persia. If that way of life to which the Greeks had become accustomed and which they loved was to be retained, then great sacrifices must be made. For this great hour, Leonidas decided to offer himself. With him he took 300 chosen men of great valour and standing. The chronicler adds, "all of whom had children". They would fight so that these children might be free.

With this small handful of brave Spartans and a few other Greeks, Leonidas held the pass. Twenty thousand of the enemy were killed in the attack. The Greeks held until, by treachery, the Persians were led to the rear and enabled to attack from both sides. The small Spartan group was decimated but their names still live in the annals of the defenders of freedom.

In this war, another such battle was fought at Thermopylae. Faced with tremendous and overpowering odds of men and machines, valiant free men of Greece and of the British Commonwealth defended themselves against savage hordes. Their names, too, will mark another phase in the fight which men must wage that their children may remain free.

Magna Carta

On June 15 in the year 1215, over seven hundred and twenty years ago, there was enacted a memorable and momentous scene on the banks of the River Thames near London, England. On that day a beaten and angry King, after four days of frantic rage, wild protest and stubborn resistance, yielded to the demands of a nation whose cherished rights he had basely and cunningly striven to steal away.

Helpless in the face of unwavering resolution and increasing pressure, King John set his seal at last upon the Great Charter, the Magna Carta, and in so doing assured Britons of every generation to come the priceless gifts of freedom and justice. Henceforth no taxes could be imposed without the consent of the nation's law givers; no citizen could be imprisoned, fined, exiled or put to death without fair trial; merchants were to be free to trade; the Church was to be free to order its own affairs; the rights of towns were to be freely enjoyed and duly respected; justice might not be "sold, delayed or denied" to any man in the realm.

King John swiftly repudiated the Charter and tried to make its sixty-three clauses null and void. In this he failed, as did also any unwise princes, prelates and politicians who, from time to time in succeeding centuries, strove to rob the British people of their birthright.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CHRISTIANITY

Many men have unreservedly devoted themselves to the service of the Christian faith and many lives have been sacrificed on the altar of its freedom. Two examples are mentioned, both from the first half of the sixteenth century.

Ignatius Loyola

Ignatius Loyola was the Founder and the first General of the Society of Jesus, usually referred to as the Jesuits. Once he was asked what was a short way to perfection. He replied: "Suffering many and great adversities for the love of Christ". The spirit he instilled in the members of the Order is revealed in the 16th century English Jesuit Martyrs such as Thomas Campion. The following is a glowing tribute to Jesuits of early Canada:

"The Jesuit fathers buried themselves in the wilderness facing death with the courage of heroes, and enduring torments with the constancy of martyrs. We see the blackrobed priest—bearing his life in his hand, as he carries his sacred mission into the strongholds of the Iroquois, like

one who invades, unarmed, a den of angry tigers. Jesuit explorers traced the St. Lawrence to its source, and said masses among the solitudes of Lake Superior, where the boldest fur trader scarcely dared to follow."

Bishop Latimer

Bishop Hugh Latimer lived in England. He differed from most of his compatriots in the Church in that he cared much less for religious ceremonials than for improving the living conditions of the people. He was possessed of a ready wit and a sharp tongue. These he used unsparingly to attack what he considered errors in religious doctrine and practices. This kind of talk was contrary to the ideas approved by the church leaders of his day; in fact, it was not permitted. Harassed by bodily ailments, surrounded by conflicts, intermittently thrust in and out of prison, he yet persisted in preaching the cause he had at heart. Finally, he was condemned to death—to be burned at the stake. He could have fled and saved his life, but he chose to make death a glorious achievement. As he and his friend Ridley were being led to their death at the stake, he said:

"Be of good comfort, Master Ridley and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as, I trust, shall never be put out."

It is recorded that he received the flame as if embracing it.

When we learned the story of Latimer and Ridley we were grateful that such barbarisms as were enacted against them were safely stowed away in the historic past—glad that we lived in an age when enlightenment prevailed! But to-day, Pastor Niemoeler of Germany and legions who are nameless have suffered, and are continuously suffering torture and humiliation. The "crime" of these present-day martyrs was to voice their determination to continue to worship a Christian God.

THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

Every one of the democratic countries has had its leaders in the struggle for democracy. In Canada, in the early 19th century two of those leaders were Mackenzie and Papineau.

William Lyon Mackenzie

About 120 years ago, an energetic and fearless young Scotsman arrived in Canada. He came with bare hands but readily established himself by his competence. Very soon he became oppressed by the abuses of freedom. He felt that the people who were in control used their power to feather their own nests and that of their own group. They would not brook criticism

of their actions. They showered favours and positions on their friends but cared little for the well-being of the great mass of

the people.

Through the medium of his newspaper, William Lyon Mackenzie, fearlessly and in no uncertain terms, attacked prevailing abuses. The opponents of this paper wrecked all his furniture and threw the printing press into Toronto Bay. Mackenzie was not dismayed and proceeded to re-establish himself. He was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly to represent the constituency of York, but was expelled from the House for his criticism of the Assembly's action. Four times he was expelled but each time re-elected. For his determination to win freedom of speech he sacrificed personal comfort, safety, and even the well-being of his family. It was this sincere and earnest political advocacy and the spirit of self-abnegation inspiring it that helped us to win more quickly the freedom which we possess in Canada to-day. We cherish freedom of speech as our inalienable right.

Louis Joseph Papineau

This brilliant French-speaking Canadian orator and parliamentarian was born and brought up in Lower Canada. His ability and training won him a seat in the Assembly, where he quickly became the leader of the French-speaking majority. The anomaly of being the leader of a majority in the representative house but with no real power in the formulation of government policies or practices, led him to make demands for a truly democratic system of government. His actions, following the persistent, successive refusals by the governing "Clique" to meet those demands, led him into exile and poverty, but they also led the British Government to take action towards granting Canada some share of the self-government we enjoy to-day.

OUR PRECIOUS FREEDOM

The above glimpses of the past give some idea of the sacrifices made by those who, with courage and vision, saw the growth of civilization as one with the development of the free life. To attempt to give an exhaustive list of such examples would be equivalent to preparing a history of mankind, for it would seem that all great movements in history, and all truly great leaders of men have been those involved in the eternal struggle between freedom and slavery. And the ascent towards freedom for all has been a slow and laborious process. Gains in one place have many times been offset by losses in another. It is true that "eternal vigilance is the price of peace," and the same is true of freedom. And it is not true that freedom at-

tained is permanent and all-inclusive. This freedom that has taken centuries of struggle to win can all be lost in one fatal battle.

"This Precious Freedom"

Recently a play called "This Precious Freedom", has been written by Arch Oboler. Its purpose is to bring home to this fortunate American continent what life would be under Nazi rule. John Stevenson, the hero of the play, is a prosperous American business man. He has gone off for a short holiday in the wilds. He decided to cut himself off for one month from all the routine of work-a-day life, mail, telehone, newspapers and radio. On his return from this holiday his plane is forced to land, and the countryside, normally teeming with life and activity is found deserted. The people he meets refuse to talk he knows not why. They seem to be labouring under some unnatural strain—he does not know that they are afraid to talk. When he arrives at his office building, even the elevator boy seems distracted and refuses to tell him what has happened to change everything. To his amazement he finds his office closed, all his employees gone. Reaching home, he finds his wife missing. No one will tell him where she has gone. After an outburst such as any normal man would have indulged in under the circumstances, he is promptly set upon by the police and taken to jail. There he is put through the third degree, accused of crimes he has never heard of, and is laughed at when he demands the services of a lawyer. Finally he hears what has taken place. There has been a Nazi invasion and he is in the hands of the Gestapo. He finds his wife in the next cell. She is being held until such time as he confesses to crimes that he did not commit. When he finally realizes what actually has happened, he savs:

"I wanted everything, and I didn't want to risk any-

thing to keep what I had.

. . . If all this isn't really a dream,—a bad dream,

then I don't want to go on living."

The story of John Stevenson is only fiction, but it is a true picture of what has taken place in many lands during recent years. Overnight, the free peoples of Europe have been deprived of all that life holds of freedom and liberty, the freedoms that have been built for centuries. Peoples have been subjected to privation and misery so heart-rending that it is beyond the scope of human understanding and sympathy to comprehend.

Loss of freedom, like loss of health, will mean that life without that all-pervading good, will no longer be worth living. During all our lives we have had freedom; now we are faced

with the possibility that unless we fight valiantly and successfully, this freedom will be taken away from us. Although we have in the past taken it for granted that we will be permitted to live as free men and women, yet it is of the very essence of freedom that we shall be willing to defend it. Whatever is of any value has to be nurtured, cherished and kept from being filched from us by our enemies.

"What is this Freedom worth to you, my friend? Freedom to live and love from day to day—Freedom to go in peace on your chosen way—Freedom to keep the faith you hold most dear—Freedom to worship therein without fear—Freedom to choose your rulers and to change—Freedom to stay by your fireside or to range—Freedom to think and speak your mind aloud—Freedom to stand alone or with the crowd, What would it cost you, should this freedom end?"

WHERE FREEDOM IS LEARNED-IN THE HOME

The heritage of freedom has come to us through the ages, from ancient Greece, from the sacrifices of the martyrs of the Church, and has been developed by the magnificent traditions of fair play and justice to all, within the British Empire. We have done little to earn this freedom, for it has come to us without effort. In our homes we are free to speak and to teach what we wish. It is there that we lay the foundation of our national freedom. Hitler knows that the home is the bulwark of this way of life and when he imposed his Nazi philosophy of living on the German people his first object of attack was the security and the happiness of the home.

Here is a true story of Nazi life told by a woman who was one of a family living in Berlin. It happened before the Nazis came to war with us. The German family of whom she told did not approve of Hitler or his methods, but they dared not talk about them outside for that meant certain imprisonment or death. Within the intimate family circle, they did speak their minds, of how they felt about the wickedness, the horror and the warlike trend of all his actions. Always they spoke behind closed doors and with none but the family intimates present. But one day the Nazi storm troopers came to the door and demanded that the father of this family come away with them. He was never heard of again, nor did he at any time receive a trial. When the little son of eight years came home from school he found his mother in distress. She wept bitterly and said she could not imagine how the Gestapo knew that the family did

not approve of Hitler, for had they not been so very careful to conceal their views? Then the little boy said:

"But mother, I was the one that told what you and daddy had been saying! It is all my fault. They asked me at school whether you had said anything against the Fuehrer and I told them what I had heard you say. But I had no idea it would do daddy any harm."

From the lips of their children, Hitler sentences parents to death.

The most popular moving picture film in Germany some time ago told the story of a child who so dearly loved his Fuehrer and the Fatherland that he knowingly betrayed his parents. That was extolled by the Germans as the finest form of patriotism on the part of a child. It is not difficult to see what such an attitude does to the security and happiness of the home. There, too, distrust has entered. Nowhere can one speak what is in the mind. There is always fear present in the heart.

HOME STARTS TRAINING IN DEMOCRACY

To those of us who live in a free country, the most important part of life is in the home where we live and love and have our being. There the education of the child begins. Within the home is allowed as much individual freedom as is compatible with a good life for the whole family, and the child soon learns that a very important phase of life is to live with others. If he shows signs of disregarding the comfort and convenience of his fellows, he must immediately be brought to task. To live in a democratic society is to recognize the rights of others. The child has to be trained to live in a free society.

With its come and go, give and take, it is in the home that the child learns to temper his freedom and respect other individuals as persons. He learns that freedom does not mean to do as you like, how you like and when you like. That is license. In a society that is really free, the individual learns to control voluntarily his desires for the good of the whole.

Hitler has smashed the home in Germany, robbed it of its sanctity and security. The child, the adult, the parent are no longer free. Only Hitler and those who have become steeped in the Nazi doctrine in all its wickedness are free to do what they like, to injure and molest others. The rest of the people are condemned to a life of slavery.

WE HAVE NOT REACHED OUR GOAL

Freedom is a conquest, and not a gift; to "do as you like" is to make real freedom forever impossible; freedom has to be trained for. Men are not born free; they are born to be free;—a very different matter.

The very nature of our society, in that it stresses regard for the individual, has made possible excessive individualism. We must constantly bear in mind the needs and the rights of the other fellow. We must be generous to him, not only in a pecuniary sense but in our attitude towards him in every phase of life. H. A. Overstreet in "Our Free Minds" puts it very well where he says:

"There are four ways of generosity that are requisite to the continuance and the strong defence of a society of free people—generosity about ideas, about the backgrounds of people, about life—opportunity, and about other peoples of the world. They all root in a fundamental respect for human things, in the conviction that all human beings, should have full access to the resources of life."

THE BALANCE BETWEEN AUTHORITY AND FREEDOM

Jeremy Bentham has stated the purpose of society to be "the greatest happiness of the greatest number". It would be synonymous to say that we are working towards the greatest "freedom" of the greatest number. How can this be achieved? The partial success which we now have won in the struggle which has gone on during the development of man as a free being, rests upon a very fine balance of the scales between the freedom of the individual to use his own ideas, on the one side, and the necessity of yielding to a law, designed by the consent of all, for the good of the whole society on the other.

But this is very difficult indeed. For that reason it is so essential to develop on the widest possible basis the philosophy of freedom. One might even call it the science of freedom as opposed to the science of force.

To carry out a way of life based upon freedom is much more difficult than if it is based upon force. Let us picture five hundred people stranded on an island without outside communication. Let us also assume that there are wild animals to contend with, snakes and insects; that parts of the island are rich in verdant soil, other parts almost barren.

If the leader of the group had a machine gun beside him and plenty of ammunition and no one else had one, it would be

relatively easy for him to map out the whole colony by telling each one exactly what he was to do and where he was to live. But if the leader was democratic in spirit and wanted to see that all were given a reasonable chance to map their own course, each on the plot of land he selected, his task would be much more difficult. There would be rivalries, inequalities, unfairness, exploitation of the weak by the strong. The leader at times would be at his wits' end to decide just what amount of control was necessary in order that there should be fair play all around. He would even be willing to step aside in favour of someone else who was more able.

Such a leader would be trying to do in a miniature world what the leaders of freedom have been endeavoring to do throughout the long difficult course of human life on earth.

FREEDOM IS AN ART AS WELL AS A SCIENCE

Freedom is an art no less than a science. Indeed the orderly conduct of any human activity as for instance a game of manly sport is an art which in many ways resembles the game of freedom.

Hockey Game

A hockey game without rules would be a free-for-all and a hockey game without a referee and goal umpire would be meaningless in so far as sport is concerned. Hockey players place themselves voluntarily under the direction of game officials who are guided entirely by the rules. In fact, most of the rules of hockey have been suggested by players, or ex-players themselves.

We can apply this familiar illustration to democracy. Men found they must have certain rules to guide them in living together. They found out too, that officials must be given power to enforce these rules. They discovered, likewise, that every man must be prepared to give up certain individual rights to ensure a wider enjoyment of rights by all.

In this way, men in free consultation established certain rules which we call laws. They then determined that these laws must be administered by officials or referees. They set limits upon the power of the officials and reserved to themselves the right to remove or replace them at pleasure. They further enacted penalties for breaking regulations, rules or laws. Under all of these regulations the game of life in the democratic world is played.

To return to the hockey illustration. The rules permit team work, combinations, brilliant individual sorties, fair obstruction, clean body checking. The game exacts penalties for those who take unjust advantage, for personal deliberate bodily injury, for dangerous cross-checking, boarding, hooking and high sticking. Fighting is heavily penalized and abusive profanity directed at game officials who are doing their duty, may cost a player a game penalty as well as a heavy fine. Clubs can enact that players conform to training regulations, abstain from the use of alcoholic beverages and heavy smoking, but they in return provide medical attention for injury, and care and pay during periods of inactivity through injuries sustained in the line of duty.

It is not necessary to carry the illustration further. Through it all runs an extraordinary resemblance to the sober business of living in the democratic state. The laws must be based upon justice and fair dealing. Co-operative enterprise is encouraged, individual prowess rewarded and applauded. Physical fitness is lauded but intemperance is condemned. Subversive activity brings penalties; the rule of force is outlawed.

BATTLE FOR FREEDOM GOES ON

Through the whole pattern runs a great surging desire for the freedom of individual action which is the cornerstone upon which all progress in the democracies is based. Every step in this freedom has been fought for. The ascending pathway towards it is strewn with the blood of martyrs. Freedom has developed slowly. It has been a long painful struggle in which the gains registered were too often wiped out by opposing forces of tyranny. The battle has always been for the freedom of the individual, but those who die for it fight not for their own individual freedom but for that of their children and for humanity. They continue to fight and die that freedom may be assured to us.

This very freedom which has been gained for the common man through centuries of struggle has been swept away overnight in parts of the world. Millions of men and women regret, in the words of John Stevenson.

"I wanted everything, and I didn't want to risk anything to keep what I had."

We are among the people upon whom rests the privilege of saving the freedom which has been handed down to us. Ours is the responsibility of making that freedom real in the lives of a greater number of people. This purpose is surely to achieve a fuller and more abundant life for all men. Responsible freedom is a basic condition of that fuller life.

The present world upheaval, instead of being a return to the dark ages, can be directed towards a more rapid growth of liberty than otherwise could have been.

"I doubt not through the ages, One increasing purpose runs."

OUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Give illustrations from your own life of the meaning of the word "freedom".
- 2. Trace the process of justice (a) in Canada of a person who (b) in Germany "makes a vindictive attack on a person in authority.
- 3. Is it absurd to conceive the possibility of freedom being lost here as it was in the imaginary case of John Stevenson?
- 4. Explain how, in your home, you learned to be a good citizen in a free country?
- 5. Is the hockey game a good illustration of the balance between authority and freedom?

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER XII

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

Introduction:

Freedom is the basis of the democratic system.

Rights and Responsibilities:

When the individual has the right to choose for himself, he also has responsibilities towards others and towards the State.

Greatest responsibility is preservation of the rights, freedom and way of life which he values. He should be ready to defend them, both within and without.

Freedom of the Individual and the Group:

Free speech and free press—the right to criticize brings out weaknesses in administration and suggests means of improvement. Both the critic and the press must realize the power they can wield and not abuse it.

Freedom of assembly—people have the right to gather together to discuss public questions. This is an extension of individual freedom of speech. Prohibited in totalitarian states.

Personal freedom—no one can be held in prison without a fair trial. Direct contrast to practice in the tyrant states.

Responsibilities of the Individual:

The first duty of a citizen is to think for himself. In Germany the individual is not allowed to express his thoughts or carry out his ideas. Therefore, he loses a great deal of this ability to think clearly.

Public and private duties—The first duties of a man are to his family and his work. A good citizen should give some of his time to community service. The community ought to be a school for democracy which everyone should attend. A free man is never satisfied. He keeps working to improve the democratic system.

We Must Speak for Democracy:

We have no group whose duty it is to point out the value of democracy. Everyone can do his share to strengthen the faith in democracy. In this way we can defeat the enemy within and build up the morale of those who are fighting the enemy without.

Self Government:

Governed by the elected representatives of the people. Men who hold certain views form a group or party. If their party is sufficiently strong, they are a majority and thus are able to get the power to put their ideas into practice. People are all powerful on election day. All citizens have a vote but only one vote.

SUMMARY-CHAPTER XII-Concluded

Responsibility of the Voter:

Casting his vote whenever he has an opportunity to do so. Impartially studying public questions and reaching conclusions. Taking part in the machinery of electing governments.

Responsibility of the Member:

The member is the servant of the people.

The Final Objective:

Co-operation for the benefit of the whole. This attitude begins with the individual and expands into small groups, then larger groups and finally into world relations. Peace where all can reap the blessings of the abundant life.

Chapter XII

DEMOCRACY IN ACTION

Introduction

In the previous lecture we discussed the struggle for democracy and the basic ideas upon which any democratic system is founded. That basis may be summed up briefly in the word "Freedom". In a democratic country the people are more free to do the things they like, they are more free to change the things they do not like, than are people under any other form of government. This is because democracy places the main emphasis on the individual—not some individuals within the state, but all of them. Democracy raises man, as such, to his rightful position entitling him to be treated with dignity and respect. Archibald MacLeish, the Librarian of Congress at Washington, states it very well where he says:

"We mean by democracy a society in which the dignity of man is of first importance, a society in which everything else must be subject to, and must support, the dignity of man."

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

It is because of the emphasis placed upon the dignity of man that democracy accords the individual so much freedom of action. But the moment a person is free to do what he likes he assumes responsibilities for himself. The man who claims the right to choose must accept the responsibilities of his actions both towards others and towards the state.

The Educational Policies Commission in the United States asked two thousand students, chosen at random, to write brief statements of what democracy meant to them. The report in part says:

"Over two-thirds of the students defined democracy solely in terms of rights and liberties; fewer than one-third showed any awareness that citizens have obligations as well as rights."

The final and greatest responsibility which the individual must accept is the preservation of that which he wants and which he values: his rights, his freedom, his way of life. He must be ready to defend them from dangers within and also from dangers without. He must be ready to fight and to die for democracy. Wendell L. Wilkie put it very forcibly when he said:

"I personally would rather be dead than live under any system of government or economy which was not the democratic way."

Let us now examine just how freedom is enjoyed and how the responsibilities arise in the exercise of that freedom. In other words let us examine democracy in action.

FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE GROUP

The Right of Free Speech and Free Press

This is one of the fundamental principles of democracy. In it is embodied the right to criticize. This is essential if we are to have good government. Fear of criticism keeps the man in office alert. But it does more. It brings out weaknesses in administration and suggests ways and means of improvement. By pointing out the errors and shortcomings of governments, the critic may succeed in arousing sufficient opposition to defeat them when they seek re-election at the polls, and thus insure a stronger and more efficient administration of the country's business.

This freedom of speech and press is a cherished privilege in democratic countries. Voltaire once said: "I disapprove of what you are saying, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." Hyde Park in London is famous as the place where every citizen has the right to mount his soap box to express his views on any subject. Even to-day Hyde Park has its soap box orators. In Fascist controlled countries, no such freedom exists. All press despatches are rigidly censored by the Ministry of Propaganda, in peace time as well as in war.

But coupled with this freedom is a responsibility of using it wisely. The freedom to express your opinion cannot be unlimited and must not become mere license. A person must not slander or libel anyone, nor must he seek to incite to violence or a breach of the peace. The words of an able critic may reach far and influence many. A strong press is a powerful force in the state. Both may be within the law in what they say and yet do harm. The critic and the press must, at all times accept the responsibilities of the power they can wield.

Freedom of Assembly

In a free country people have the right to gather together to discuss public questions and to criticize governments and government officials. This right of assembly, which is merely an extension of the freedom of speech of the individual, is essential if free institutions are to be maintained. It is one of the first forms of freedom prohibited in the Fascist States. The only meetings allowed are gatherings of yes-men to laud the leaders and praise their actions. Hitler calls the Reich together for this purpose. But if a meeting were held without Hitler's approval, the participants would in all probability land themselves in a concentration camp. In our country, the House of Commons, the Legislatures, and the Municipal Councils are free assemblies of representatives of the people.

Freedom of Association

In democratic countries, individuals are free to join with others for the advantage of all. Workers are free to organize. Groups of other kinds are formed: community clubs, societies of all kinds, companies and corporations created for financial gain, combinations of men of weath and power, sometimes referred to as vested interests. This freedom of grouping involves great responsibility. It is at once a fundamental of democracy and if not properly used it may be a possible destroyer of democracy. Organized labour, organized farmers, any organized body of men, must use their power wisely. If it is used to advance class interest, or the interest of the few at the expense of the people as a whole it becomes a menace. This freedom of association was one of the first privileges of freedom removed by the tyrants. Trade unions were abolished; lodges and secret societies were declared illegal. Their property was confiscated and their leaders imprisoned. Freedom of association is an essential part of democratic living.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Thinking for Yourself

One of the primary duties of every free citizen is that he should use his abilities to think for himself. It is a law of nature that what is not used decays and is destroyed. If a person does not use, or is not allowed to use his capacity to think, then his faculties stagnate and become atrophied. In countries such as Germany, the ordinary citizen is discouraged from thinking for himself by not being allowed to express his thoughts or carry out his ideas. In democratic countries, such as Canada, the individual is encouraged to do his own thinking to formulate his own plans and put them into action, to improve his own lot and that of his fellowman. From a purely military viewpoint the advantages of the democratic ideal were well proven in the Great War, 1914-18, when it was demonstrated repeatedly that, though the German soldiers in mass formations were equal to ours, in individual enterprises they were inferior and unable quickly to adjust themselves to new situations. What was true then is just as true now. Since the coming of the Nazi regime even stricter control of individual thought has been exercised in Germany. What is true of war time should also be true of peace time, and the citizens of the democratic states, by exercising their right to think for themselves, should maintain their advantage over the Axis peoples.

Public and Private Duties

It goes without saying that a man's first duty is to his home and his family. He must attend to his own work and do it well. But that does not mean that he need be idle during his spare time. If democracy is not to decay, as the Nazis say it has decayed, it is necessary that every person give of his time for community service. He should become community mindedtake an interest in things around him. He should join clubs and other social organizations. If a local problem arises such as building a new bridge, erecting a new schoolhouse, introducing a new variety of wheat, etc., he should take part in the discussion and be willing to be one in a delegation to wait on the proper authorities. At times he may disagree with the whole project. If so, he should not hesitate to express his opinion. The important point to remember is that no matter how humble the community task may be, the doing of it well and conscientiously is a step in carrying out the democratic principles in which we believe. The community should be a school for democracy and everybody should attend.

Improving Democracy

The good citizen seeks to improve the society in which he lives. He seeks to improve democracy. The free man is never satisfied. He struggles on and upwards. So democracy, which is a society of free men, is never static. It, like the individuals making it, has shortcomings, makes its mistakes and has its reverses. The history of democracy is the history of free man. It is a series of advances, pauses and reverses, and advances again in reaching an ideal which still is far off. But we seek to set our course in that direction and advance even though it be but slowly.

WE MUST SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

It is not enough to take part in community affairs. There must be someone to speak for democracy. In fact we should all speak for democracy. It has been one of our weaknesses that within the democratic state there is no group or governmental body whose duty it is to point out the value of the democratic way of life. Instead, the people divide into political parties

and each party seeks to extol its own virtues and magnify the sins of the others. It is only natural and proper that it should be so as there are bound to be differences of opinion in any society where men are free to form opinions and express them. Yet all genuinely democratic parties have much in common, deas and principles for the sake of which they all are willing to lrop differences and if necessary to take up arms. Every man, woman and child can do his or her share in strengthening our faith in democracy. This can and should become a crusade in which we all can take part. In that way we can most effectively defeat the enemy from within and at the same time build up a strong morale behind those who are elsewhere fighting the enemy from without.

FREEDOM TO GOVERN YOURSELF

We have been discussing the exercise of freedom by the individual and the group in the ordinary routine of human activities in the state. We now come to the most important of our freedoms—the freedom or right to govern ourselves. We govern ourselves by electing our governments. By governments we mean all governing and legislative bodies, such as, school boards, municipal councils, aldermen and mayors of cities; also provincial legislatures, and the House of Commons, from which the provincial and dominion cabinets are chosen.

THE MACHINERY OF ELECTIONS

How do we govern ourselves? We cannot all be members of some governing body; but still we do say, and it really is true, that we govern ourselves. This is done through the system of holding elections. In this way machinery is provided which enables the individual to decide, by his vote, who is to be his representative in the legislature. Casting a vote may not appear very important but it is the cornerstone of the whole democratic structure. By that vote the elector selects the man he believes is the ablest or the one who most closely represents his views.

The vote is important in another way. By our vote we can throw out the government if it is dishonest, inefficient, or, in our opinion, mistaken in its policy. In the same way we can get rid of individual members whether of the local school board or the Federal Government. This is impossible in totalitarian states. Once a dictator gets to the top he stays there till death.

Parties

Men who hold certain views form a group or a party. At first they are a minority. But they are free to gain converts to

their ideas and in that way may later become a majority. This is very important. In this way many reforms have been put through and made part of the law of the land. If this right of forming groups or parties is barred to the citizen, democracy ceases functioning as a free agent. We could give many illustrations but one is enough. Some years ago a group of farmers in the West felt that neither of the major parties, the Liberals or Conservatives, paid enough attention to their claims. They formed the Progressive Party which in 1921 sent 65 members to Ottawa.

Election Day

On election day, the people are all powerful. All citizens have a vote but only one vote. The Prime Minister of Canada has only one vote. His vote is of no more importance than that of the trapper of the Far North, the farmer in Saskatchewan, the fruit grower of British Columbia or the miner in Nova Scotia. In this way we govern ourselves.

This places a tremendous responsibility on every citizen. B. K. Sandwell, editor of *Saturday Night*, Toronto, has said:

"He (the elector) must recognize always that he, and his fellow citizens, are the government of the country and that it is necessary for the health, happiness and security of any country that its government should be wise, vigorous and consistent."

This responsibility of the voter can be discharged in three ways:

1. The responsibility of casting his vote whenever he has the opportunity of so doing.

This means voting for school boards, municipal councils, provincial legislatures, and the Federal Parliament. All are important. No one can say that one governing body is inferior to another. Together they form the pattern by which our lives are governed. People often do not vote. Some think their vote will make no difference. But it does make a difference. It might mean the election of a good man or the defeat of a weak man. In some countries such as Australia there is a law compelling people to vote.

2. The responsibility of studying impartially public questions and then reaching conclusions.

This means that every citizen should study public questions and think them out for himself and discuss them with others. A story is told of a group of four women who were playing bridge in the afternoon of election day. An enthusiast for one

of the candidates called to see if the lady of the house had voted. She replied, "No, we are not voting, we never take part in politics. We don't know which side is right; they are all the same to us."

Some people are worse than merely indifferent. They bitterly bewail the incompetence of government and blame them for every sin and evil. After all, it is the people who elect governments. We decide who governs us. The man who does not vote or does not care for whom he votes shirks his duty and gets a better government than he deserves.

3. The responsibility of taking part in the machinery of electing governments.

This means helping to find the best representatives for the school board, the municipal council, the provincial legislature, and the Federal Parliament. It means voicing opinions in party councils and attending meetings at which men are selected to run for office. People do not take the trouble of finding out what men are going to be nominated. Very often we hear the remark: "I don't like either one of the candidates." Or "The one is no better than the other." If we have been in that dilemma, it is our own fault. If we know somebody in the district whom we think would make a good public servant, whether on the local council or in parliament, we should do our utmost, first to get him interested, and then to see that he is put in the field.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE MEMBER

The men whom we elect in turn have their responsibilities. They must be watchful of our freedom. They are our servants—we elected them and we can dismiss them. That is why it is said that they are in the public service. The standard of service they render is decided by the quality of men we select. We must not forget that governments and indeed all public institutions are what men make them. They are neither better nor worse than the men who run them. And you and I elect those men.

THE FINAL OBJECTIVE

From the foregoing it is obvious that democracy or the democratic way of life touches upon all our activities both private and public. It is not something which you can put your finger on and say "This is democracy". Lord Tweedsmuir said that democracy is an attitude of mind. There really are two attitudes of mind in the world—the fascist and the democratic. According to the fascist idea humanity is to be divided into

two camps—the masters and the servants. According to the other concept we are all human beings and seek to work with each other. We know what the objective is and we will reach it.

Democracy begins with the individual. The beginnings of its outward expression are to be seen in the reactions of the individual to others in his immediate surroundings. It is felt in the home, the church, and the school. It finds expression in the numerous small organizations for social and community service within each local district. A sense of fair play, a spirit of cooperation, a readiness to render service emerges and becomes a guiding principle.

The outward expression of the democratic way expands into the larger field, the countless human activities within the state. In applying the same principles of justice, co-operation and service, it seeks to lessen the tension which at times arises between capital and labour, employer and employee, producer and consumer, the province and the city, the dominion and the province, the federation and the state. In this larger field as in the small, the interest of the part must give way to the interest of the whole. There will be co-operation for the benefit of all rather than advancement of few often at the expense of many. A proper attitude in the individual and the small group is the source from which the larger field will draw its strength.

The democratic way expands into the world arena—the relations of nation to nation. Here the attitude of mind or the method of approach is the same. Each nation is free to develop along lines which best fit people of its particular racial origin. Co-operation and good-will within the state are transmitted to and strengthen co-operation and good-will within world relations. In the sum total, operating in the small as well as in the larger fields, democracy in action develops a spirit of co-operation, a will-to-peace in all human relations within or without the state. Our final objective is peace where all can reap the blessings of the abundant life.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Have you ever thought out something which would improve things in your district? Give specific instances.
- 2. Have you ever taken part in some new project such as building a skating rink, community hall, etc?
- 3. Do the newspapers in your district exert an influence? Are they fair?
- 4. Does society owe you a job? Would you be willing to take any job anywhere in Canada?
- 5. Why in your opinion do so many people not vote?
- 6. Do you know of anyone in your district whom you think should run for public office? Would he be willing to run if he got the chance?

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER XIII

WE MUST LIVE DEMOCRACY

Germany and Japan seek to uproot Christianity and Democracy:

Man must and will have some religion. This has been seized upon by our enemies.

The Nazi doctrine is to have a German god. Adolf Hitler is raised to the position of a god. He says that a man cannot be both a German and a Christian.

The Japanese official religion is Shintoism. The Emperor is believed to be divine and other Japanese only a little less divine.

Christianity and Democracy:

Christianity and Democracy have one fundamental thing in commonthe right and responsibility of every man to live his own life.

Their attitude towards human beings is totally different from that of the Nazis and the Japanese, who despise all who do not accept their views.

Christianity and Democracy must work together.

They recognize neither race, creed nor class. Each draws strength from the other.

Where have we failed:

We have not achieved "the greatest happiness of the greatest number".

Democracies have been bracing themselves against the yearnings of human beings. Something new is required which when analysed is reduced to this: a fair distribution of the abundance of life in a world of peace.

What we are doing:

1. To defeat the enemy we apply all our strength.

2. We have faith in our way of life. Momentarily we lost sight of our objectives and allowed material interests to cloud our vision. We are now on the right path.

The struggle brings out the best in us:

A. The Battle of Britain.

B. The Jervis Bay.

C. St. Nazaire.

D. Supreme Courage in the Occupied Areas.

The wider vision:

We have advanced in the realms of the mind.

No longer true to say "East is East and West is West".

This is the time to make a better world.

Chapter XIII

WE MUST LIVE DEMOCRACY

Introduction

In the two previous lectures we discussed the struggle for freedom in the battle against tyranny; we noted that democracy began in the home and reached out into larger fields; and we pointed out briefly the way democracy operates at the present time. But we are fighting for freedom more fiercely than ever before. We live in a democratic country, yet we feel that our way of life has many weaknesses and shortcomings. There must be something wrong. We must face the fact that it is not enough to have freedom; we must be ready to fight and to die for it. We must also face the equally obvious fact that it is not enough merely to establish the outward forms of democracy and follow them in a half-hearted way only when it suits us.

We Must Live Democracy

But, someone may say, it is not democracy we must live but Christianity; if we are real Christians we will be good citizens of a democracy. The reply is obvious. It is two-fold. The theory upon which the Tyrant Nations based their expansion programmes is of such a nature that if they succeed, both Christianity and Democracy must go. And secondly, the basic principles of democracy are such that if a man is genuinely democratic he is at the same time following truly Christian doctrines. Let us examine briefly how the aggressor nations seek to uproot both Christianity and Democracy, to what extent both are the same as a way of life, and to what extent we have failed to live up to their common standards.

RACE-WORSHIP SEEKS TO WIPE OUT BOTH CHRISTIANITY AND DEMOCRACY

There is in a man the urge to worship a superior being. Lord Tweedsmuir in "Memory Hold the Door" quotes Blake where he says:

"Men must and will have some religion."

The German and Japanese leaders have realized this. Both have devised cunningly and inculcated in the minds of the people an official state and race religion which is nothing but a worship of themselves, and alongside of which neither Christianity nor any other true religion can exist.

The Nazi Religion

Ernst Bergman, the leading Nazi religious teacher, says:

"We need a faith that prays to a national God, not an international God."

Alfred Rosenberg, in charge of Nazi philosophical education:

"The source of all true religious insight, at least for Germans, is the ideal and demands of the 'German soul'
... our lord was of Aryan, not of Jewish birth; not as the crucified but as the warrior . . . does he deserve the honour of the German people."

He condemns "meekness, humility, long-suffering and gentleness" and especially "Universal love which is a blow at the soul of Nordic Europe".

Dr. Ley, one of the chief German Ministers says:

"We believe in this world in Adolf Hitler alone. We believe that National Socialism is the sole faith to make our people blessed."

And then Hitler:

"The religions are all alike no matter what they call themselves. . . The fact that I come to terms with the church will not prevent me tearing up Christianity root and branch. . . A German church. . . A German Christianity is distortion. . . One is either a German or a Christian. . . You cannot be both."

The Official Japanese Religion

The official Japanese religion, Shintoism, has during the last few decades been pressed upon the people by all the leaders in Japan. In it they see a driving force similar to that engendered in the youth of Germany by the Nazi doctrine. The Emperor is believed to be divine and other Japanese only a little less divine. The nation, therefore, must be invincible and could not bow even to a Supreme Being as it is supreme itself. In the face of such a myth, very generally accepted, both Christianity and Buddhism have lost ground. No genuine religion could exist beside it as it is nothing less than a worship of the Japanese people themselves.

CHRISTIANITY AND DEMOCRACY

In making the statement that Christianity and Democracy are one we mean by Christianity the teachings of Christ rather than the doctrines of an organized church, and by Democracy we mean a way of life rather than some particular form of government.

Dr. A. D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, describes the spirit of democracy when he says:

"The poorest has his own life to live, not to be managed or used by other people. His life is his and he has to live it. None can divest him of the responsibility. However men may be in wealth or ability or learning, whether clever or stupid, good or bad, living their life is their concern and their responsibility. That is not a scientific nor a common-sense doctrine. It is a religious and moral principle."

Here the Master of Balliol has struck the common chord of Christianity and Democracy.

The Christian and Democratic Approach

Another way to ascertain how much Christianity and Democracy have in common is to observe how similar the attitude of mind of the Christian is to that of the democrat in all human relations and on the other hand how totally different is the attitude of those who are steeped in the Master-Race theory.

Let us assume that a Nazi observes a workman tilling the soil in a nearby field. What is his attitude toward that unknown human being? First he asks "Is he a German?" Should the reply be in the negative, he would classify him—to use the Nazi vernacular—as "vermin". He would consider him entitled to less consideration than our humane societies would demand for a dog. Should the reply reveal that he is a German, then there would be the further question, "Does he believe in the greatness of the new world which is to be made in the Nazi image?" If not, Percy J. Philip can answer as to this man's fate:—

"One autumn day, three years ago, I was driving through a very lovely Bavarian valley. There was a jolly little trout stream bubbling down through the meadows from the hill. The sun was pleasantly warm and there was a delightful freshness in the air. It was pretty good to be alive and a pretty good place to be alive in. I stopped the car to enjoy it, and as I was sitting on the bank of that little stream drinking in the bird-song and the cool smell of the grass and the trees, I heard a harsh voice behind me shout an order. It was a harsher voice than a countryman would ever use to call his dog or to demand a stronger effort from his horse. Dropping suddenly into that peace, it made me start. I

turned and saw four men walking across a field. They were young, strong men—farm workers, I thought. And then I saw a fifth man behind them. He wore a blue and green uniform and carried a rifle. These four men were German political prisoners and the fifth was their German guard.

What was their crime? They had believed that life should be lived in a different way from that in which Herr Hitler conceives it. They had possibly said what they thought, just as you do when you think that your government does not do as you think it should. They may have wanted to worship in the way their fathers had done, in a way Herr Hitler disapproves of. And there they were going to work in the fields with a man with a rifle behind them.

I suddenly felt sick. That lovely little valley disgusted me. I got into my car and did not stop until I reached the bridge at Strasbourg and came again into France."

Now, if instead of a Nazi, a true Christian observes a workman whom he does not know, what is his attitude of mind? He thinks:

"That man is my brother, for all men are brothers. Jesus said: 'Love thy neighbour as thyself'."

Hence, the true Christian, without any questions asked, has a kindly approach, and a desire to be of help to the stranger.

The attitude of mind of a true democrat is the same; he thinks: "That man, like myself, is an individual human being. Regardless of his talent, ancestry or position, he is entitled to the same opportunity, the same consideration as I."

Christianity and Democracy Must Work Together

Christianity and Democracy recognize neither race, creed nor class. Their purpose is the same. For the good life, these two forces must work in harmony.

Man has a material and spiritual side. If Christianity is a vital influence in his life, he will be a better man in his home. business and community. He will be a good citizen.

Ideally, there has been no conflict between Democracy and Christianity. We have had both. Why have they not been a greater force in the lives of our generation? Have our deeds coincided with our professions?

WHERE HAVE WE FAILED?

Few will deny that the social principles of Christianity and Democracy are fundamental truths on which alone may be built the good life for all men. But there are many, especially among our younger group who will say that Christianity and Democracy have been just beautiful words bringing little reality to the lives of everyday people. It is well to face criticism with an honest answer. This is no time to gloss over past failures.

We are far from having reached our objective of the "greatest happiness of the greatest number". At the same time, let us make no mistake in this score. Our freedom, imperfect as it is, shines as the light of day to a dungeon of darkness when compared with the Frankenstein of injustice and cruelty that is operating in the fascist states. It is our duty to use this right to criticize (a right that would promptly precipitate us into the concentration camp were we living in Germany or Japan) to improve our life—not to destroy it. Any criticism must serve to unite, not to create dissension; to strengthen us at a time when all hands must work together to avoid disaster.

The countries which professed to believe in Christianity lacked a clearly defined objective. They were not living their beliefs. Spiritual values had, temporarily, made way for materialism. It is only too true that despite the protests of the churches, Christianity has not exerted its due influence on the lives of our people. The lessons taught by the life of Jesus, unselfishness and love of all men, have too oft been forgotten when once the door of the church was closed. Many there are who rarely enter that door. This difference is vividly expressed by Clare Boothe, following her visit to the Vatican:

"It suddenly occurred to me how for months and months on end, I never heard in New York the name of Jesus except as a cuss word. I tried to think just why we Americans called ourselves a Christian nation, because I suddenly remembered, coming from the Vatican, that Christianity is not just an accepted theory about God, but a whole way of human living. I wondered if the fact that so few important people everywhere in the world were living Christian lives and thinking of everything, politics and business and finance and industry and diplomacy from a Christian point of view, could really have something to do with the war in Europe."

What of Democracy?

The failure of our form of democracy is expressed with the directness for which Dorothy Thompson is famed when she says the world upheaval must be attributed at its root to the

"upsurging desire of all men everywhere for a new world, a new world that coincides at some major points with their yearnings, their common sense, their desire and their needs.

I tell you that democracies are endangered, not only because they have not got enough guns, but because they have been bracing themselves against the yearnings of all human beings to achieve what they have not yet achieved—and to be what they are not."

"Fascism", she said, "had offered youth the alternative of adventure, excitement. It is wicked and senseless but it promises loot, and it promises something new. And something new is what the heart of the world is looking for."

The something new, when analysed, is seen to be within the principles of democracy. Instead of "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost" there is to be "live and let live", that is, a fair distribution of the abundance of life in a world of peace. That is democracy. If we follow the principle we are living within the concept of true democracy.

WHAT WE ARE DOING

Our enemies have one purpose only. That is war, and from war, ultimate world domination. No other considerations have been allowed to get in their way. If profits for private business interfered, that business had to go. If the welfare of the individual was a hindrance the individual was liquidated. Unity, power, domination, were their slogans.

Their people have been forced to practise self-denial. For years, they have had to deny themselves all but the bare necessities of life, in order that the war machine be made strong. They have tightened their belts for their cause. Not only institutions but material necessities have been made agents of human will to world power.

We Apply All Our Strength

To meet the powerful organization which our enemies have built up we must apply all our strength. There is no holding back. Hard driving discipline reaches to all; there is no room for suspicion and hatred as between groups. Business is giving up profits and monopolies; labour agrees to whatever hour and wage schedules are necessary. Profits are of no value if we lose; it matters little whether the week consists of 40 or 50 hours when the alternative is a concentration camp where all weeks have 168 hours. Every habit and thought that fails to contribute to the war effort, to our safety, or to the intensification and improvement of our life, must be scrapped.

We Have Faith in Our Own Way of Life

Fundamentally we always believed in Truth, Justice and in God. Momentarily we lost sight of our objectives and allowed material interests to cloud our vision.

Never again will we shut our eyes to wrongs done to others. Internally that indifference has frustrated the growth of freedom. From now on, we must restate our objectives. Nor will we forget that wrongs done to others in far off lands are done to humanity, and lead to war. When the war is over the battle must go on—the fight against unemployment, poverty and the slums. When the last war against Germany was won, we came home and washed our hands of the whole bloody business. This time the end of the war will be but the commencement of a struggle for a better life. Real patriotism rests, not in shutting our eyes to our own weaknesses, but in looking for remedies to cure them.

THE STRUGGLE BRINGS OUT THE BEST IN US

We know that we must fight to hold and revitalize our democracy. But is it worthwhile?

It is worthwhile for many reasons. First, we know that if we lose, the alternative to those still living is slavery under Nazi and Japanese domination; second, we love our native land and would sooner die than let the tyrants have it; third, and most important of all, we know that the struggle will bring out the best in us, and indeed in all the nations which are fighting with us.

The war has raised nations and individuals to heights we did not think mortals could reach. In the field of mutual understanding the peoples fighting under the democratic banner have travelled further than might have been possible in centuries of peace. Lengthy proof is not necessary; a glimpse here and there will suffice.

A. The Battle of Britain

In the summer and fall of 1940 the Battle of Britain was fought. For bravery, endurance and fortitude in all—men and women, soldier and civilian—it has not been equalled. Death

rained from the skies upon cities and towns. Houses, shops and hospitals were shattered, thousands of women and children killed, whole families wiped out. But the people faced the ordeal calmly and with unflinching courage. They forgot self in the need of preserving that which meant more than life itself. Theirs was the spirit of Churchill who, when France fell, uttered these words of defiance:

"We shall go on to the end—We shall never surrender—Britain will fight the menace of tyranny for years and if necessary alone."

A. P. Herbert describes the indifference of the ordinary Britisher to his own welfare in that hour of supreme test:

"The chances are they will not hit this street, It does not matter greatly if they do, There will be one less bomb upon the fleet And one more year of Hell for—you know who. We used to think we mattered very much And now we do not matter any more, Our little home may be a rabbit hutch But there shall be a lion at the door.

So let the bullies bluster overhead There will be fewer bombs upon the fleet And anyhow, it's better to be dead, Than here, in Britain, under Hitler's feet."

B. The Jervis Bay

On the broad Atlantic a British convoy was slowly making its way—slowly because the speed of the swiftest ship had to be the speed of the slowest. The sailors scanned the horizon for signs of danger. They had only feeble defence against attack—one small armed merchant ship. Its guns were few and their range was short. It was not built for war; only a serious shortage of destroyers had caused it to be pressed into service. Smoke on the horizon heralds the approach of a powerful enemy warship. The little armed merchantman signals the other thirty-eight ships of the convoy to scatter and bravely engages the cruiser—not in hopes of victory but merely to sacrifice itself for the ships in its charge by giving them time to escape.

The Jervis Bay was riddled by the enemy guns, but it kept on. It occupied the raider and saved precious moments for the ships that sought escape. In the end the Jervis Bay went down. Just before it sank, a young sailor replaced the shattered ensign of the Navy. So the ship, in the best British tradition, went down with its guns smoking, and its colours still flying.

C. St. Nazaire

On the morning of March 28, 1942, a Commando raid was made on St. Nazaire in France. The main purpose was to ram an old destroyer laden with concrete against the dock gates and block the entrance. This had been done and in the old boat were five tons of T.N.T. and a delayed-action fuse.

Two British naval officers were captured during the raid and were questioned about the destroyer. The Germans wanted to know whether there were explosives on the boat. The officers said no, but the Germans were suspicious.

"If this is the case, we will go aboard and you will

come with us."

Without hesitation the British officers agreed and walked aboard with the German officers and stayed there while the German officers started to examine the contents of the boat. In a short while the five tons of T.N.T. went off, killing everyone aboard and blowing out the dock gates.

D. Supreme Courage in the Occupied Areas

The fortitude of the people in the occupied countries is equally inspiring. Children do not hesitate to lie in bed when their mothers tell them that by lying still they can endure the hunger better. Workers gladly risk their lives when they purposely make mistakes, lose a bolt or forget to oil a machine. Women direct British bombers to their targets for they are less likely to come under suspicion than are the men.

These people, soldier and civilian alike, have lifted their eyes to the hills; they have become exalted. It is as if in this stark hour, the gap which separates God from man has been spanned.

Out of the valley of the shadow of death the martyrs for our cause have been illumined with an ethereal grace. To them life sacrificed at the right moment is life well spent.

THE WIDER VISION

But it is not only in the field of personal fortitude and sacrifice that humanity has risen to new heights, but also in the realms of the mind. "He who loses his life shall find it." We know that a change is coming, and we know that it is good. We are getting closer to one another; in measuring up to what is demanded by democracy, in its hour of greatest trial, we are building for the better democracy to come. We feel it in ourselves; we see it in the thoughts and actions of our leaders.

Rudyard Kipling once said:

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

They have met! Not the East or the West of yesterday but a democratic East and a democratic West, both cleansed and purified in a common sacrifice, both inspired by a common vision. Mme. Chiang Kai-shek has said:

"What of the future? The West must revise its ideas about the East. We in China must reciprocate. In the world society that we are going to create there must be no thought of superiors and inferiors. We must be equal men and women of all ages, pressing forward to a great ideal."

This is the time to make a better world. Because this is one of our most anguished and shattered moments, life has become worthwhile. Difficulties prove our mettle. Now is the time to test ourselves. Are we real folk or just a front without a back? It is in the periods of great crisis that men and women have measured up to their ideals. Now is the time that we really live. The necessities of the time, the mutual sacrifices, and the help that comrades give one another constitute real democracy, and we are living it perhaps without thinking about it. But when the sacrifices have been made, and the struggle is over, we must be aware—lest we forget.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Had it ever occurred to you to connect Christianity and Democracy?
- 2. How much has Christianity meant in your life?
- 3. Have you ever met a person who has the "attitude of mind" of a Nazi towards other people?
- 4. Can you think of anything we might copy from Germany?
- 5. Do you think that the fact that the German state demands so much of its young people is good for them?
- 6. What improvements would you make in our life to bring it closer to Christianity and Democracy?
- 7. Are we better democrats to-day than when the war started?

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SUMMARY

CHAPTER XIV

IT IS UP TO YOU AND ME

Introduction:

Never before has man been willing to sacrifice so much as in this war.

All must do their bit. You can be an inspiration to the people of your district.

The Measure of the Civilian's Sacrifice:

(a) Financial contributions such as taxes, etc.

(b) Wartime restrictions accepted. We should be willing to sacrifice

(c) Primary producers, especially wheat and apple growers, have lost because of lost markets. They do not complain.

Morale Begins at Home:

(a) Every citizen can help build up morale on the home front—both in word and deed.

(b) Criticism of those in authority is in order but it must be informed and disinterested.

Service at home-no other choice:

Many serve at home because they cannot serve elsewhere. Sacrifice made by wives, mothers and sweethearts of men in the active forces. Veterans of last war.

Esprit de Corps:

The service rendered and the sacrifice made at home builds up a powerful moral force behind those at the front.

The Fighting Services:

The Canadian Merchant Marine. They are really a fourth arm of our fighting forces. They take great risks and suffer many hardships. Many casualties. No uniforms or military honours. Only a "MN" distinguishing badge.

The Fighting Forces:

The men of the fighting forces, whether the Navy, the Army or the Air Force are at the posts of noblest duty. They are eager to fight and are wonderfully brave. Why?

The Spirit of Freedom:

The Spirit of Freedom is a vitalizing and an ennobling force which has suddenly come to life. Our morale stands up in adversity because it is built upon this spirit.

The Spirit of Britain:

During the first years of the war this spirit crystallized into the Spirit of Britain.

The Spirit of Freedom Expands:

To the Greeks. To all the Commonwealth forces. Outside the Commonwealth to Russia.

The Spirit of Freedom becomes a World Spirit:

The spirit behind the fighting forces of the United States, China and other nations of the United Nations is a world spirit which has enabled men to reach new heights of service and sacrifice.

Chapter XIV

IT IS UP TO YOU AND ME

"One who never turned his back, but marched breast forward, Never doubted clouds would break; Never dreamed though right were worsted, wrong would triumph, Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better, Sleep to wake."

We have discussed the onward march of the Tyrant Nations, their wickedness, their vicious methods. They were challenged and we found ourselves at war. We have talked about our native land—Canada—the land we are defending and will defend to the last. We are proud of the place Canada holds among the United Nations in their battle to wipe out tyranny. We have also discussed the ideals and principles for which we are fighting—ideals and principles which are common to all freedom-loving peoples of the world.

The maintenance of the things we value in life is never an easy task. Unless the war is won, our talks will have served no purpose, for defeat would reduce us all to the situation of the serf whose thoughts and action are controlled by others. Indolence, indifference or apathy now, means that freedom is lost and the glory of regaining it becomes the task of some future generation. But it is childish to suggest that we do not care about freedom, for never before has the world poured out so much of its treasure to retain liberty. Never before has man been so willing to spend and be spent.

We must, and will, win the war. Every citizen has, in wartime, a very special duty to his country, his community, and to himself as a citizen of that country. You have taken the first step in discharge of the duties that have fallen upon you—you are now receiving training through which you become mentally and physically better equipped to perform those duties. You may rest assured that the other citizens of Canada, who are still at their civilian posts, watch you with pride and in many cases with envy.

On the other hand you have a reason to expect the civilian to do his part. All agree that in wartime it is equally necessary to maintain a strong morale on the home front and on the fighting front. It is the civilian who builds up and maintains

the morale on the home front. You, who have so recently left your civilian jobs and for some time will be fairly close to civilian life in Canada, are still in a position to influence morale on the home front. You can help build it. We must therefore examine what the civilian can and ought to do. It's up to him as well as to you and me.

THE MEASURE OF THE CIVILIAN'S SACRIFICE

It is not enough for the civilian to hold up his chin, and point with pride to the fighting men. Morale on the home front rests upon the tangible as well as the spiritual contribution of the civilian. He must be prepared to do his bit be it large or small, and you and I are interested in what that is. Total war demands total effort by you and me and also by the civilian.

Financial Contributions

Wars cost money. They demand an all-out financial sacrifice. There are some who do not understand the difference between war and peace time finance. During peace, governments are expected to balance their budgets, and pay their way. During war, they have to win, no matter what the cost, for should the war be lost, everything is lost. This difference can be illustrated by the situation of a family, who, much as they would have liked to send their son to college, gave up the idea because after taking stock of their income and their savings, they decided that they could not afford the additional expense. Soon after this decision against college was made, the son took ill. A serious operation, hospital and nursing costs, eventually amounted to as much as the university education would have done. But this was an emergency—it was a matter of life and death for the boy, and regardless of the sacrifice the money had to be found.

So we must find money for war purposes. Free men voluntarily submit to the exactions necessary for the increased war effort. The money does not come from thin air—nor does it come from the printing press. Taxes have increased very sharply. This bears heavily on those in the higher income brackets, but it affects us all. People are asked to buy war savings certificates; those that have the means buy war bonds. Public subscriptions are taken for the Red Cross and different organizations connected with our war effort.

Wartime Restrictions Accepted

We do not always realize how much the small restrictions, accepted by all, amount to in the sum total of a nation. A

pamphlet has been published in Britain called: "The Little Less... And How Much It Is." It gives most startling figures illustrating the release of shipping tonnage and man power by various kinds of restrictions and rationing. For instance 1,825,000 tons of shipping are saved annually by the restrictions on fruit imports. Clothes rationing has released 750,000 workers. The sugar rationing of 8 oz. per week has reduced annual sugar imports by 570,000 tons, which would have required 114 ships of 5,000 tons each.

Self-denial Applies to All

This self-denial is not limited to the middle and poorer classes but applies likewise to the well-to-do. The more any one person has the greater must be the measure of his contribution and he must of his own free will deny himself all unnecessary comforts. Otherwise there will necessarily be a feeling of injustice and inequality among various groups in Canada. Since all share the burdens together no one murmurs or complains and, each is proud to do without in order that the cause be served. Surely this is a small price to pay for liberty. Those serving in the forces are willing to risk all; those who stay behind should do what they can. They should give with alacrity and, do without with good cheer.

Did you hear the story of the little old lady in England who started this idea? Every time an alarm sounded from which she suffered no damage, she fined herself one penny for war relief. Could we in Canada adopt some similar idea?

There are other forms of contribution to the war effort.

The Primary Producers

The producers of grain, apples and other primary products have had to accept wartime sacrifices. Markets have been closed due to the German stranglehold on Europe. The result has been low prices and general hardship, placing an additional strain on these people. Our agricultural folk, sorely tried in the pre-war years, have shown in this further difficulty, a very fine spirit. Nor are they the only ones to lose financially. As the war goes on, certain other forms of business, such as luxury trades not essential to the war effort, find themselves handicapped as spending is diverted from their trade to wartime necessities.

MORALE BEGINS AT HOME

The citizen can do more than contribute of his substance. He can create a healthy atmosphere on the home front. In word and deed the citizen must so control his speech and action as

to stimulate enthusiasm for our cause and strengthen wavering defeatists. He must not only emphasize our will, but our ability to win. He must be optimistic, yet not blindly so; he must face realities, must see the dark clouds, but the silver lining as well. Everyone takes part. The man expressing these thoughts, as he sits on a nail keg in the local hardware store, is helping to create healthy public opinion. The woman who knits socks for the Red Cross or sends comforts overseas is doing her share. Between those who are able to do little more than hold up their chins, and our heroes on the field of battle, there is the large mass of Canadians all making their contribution. The average citizen now realizes to what extent morale is of his own making.

Disinterested Criticism

Even in wartime the citizen can and ought to criticize those in authority. But the criticism must be informed and above all, unbiased and disinterested. If, after obtaining accurate information, a man comes to the conclusion that something needs to be remedied, it is his duty to communicate with the proper authorities, make known the facts, and, if possible, suggest a remedy. So also if a person reaches a wholly unbiased conclusion that the policy of the government in some phase of its war effort is wrong, he should make his submission to the government and tender his advice. Both these forms of criticism are constructive.

But there are two kinds of criticism that are definitely destructive. One is to be continually harping upon what has been done and cannot be recalled. The other is, to pretend to know what should be done when you don't know, or, to deal in generalities which serve only to embarrass those charged with the responsibility of directing Canada's war effort. This class of critic has very aptly been called the "dry land pilot". They have been with us since the beginning of time and their only function is to spread discontent, to lower, not to improve our morale. We can go back a full two thousand years and find the same gratuitous observations.

The Roman historian, Livy, reports an address given in 168 B.C. by Lucius Paulus, Consul to the Roman populace in which he said:

"In every circle, and truly, at every table, there are people who lead armies into Macedonia; who know where the camp ought to be placed; what posts ought to be occupied by troops, when and through what pass Macedonia should be entered; where magazines should be formed; how provisions should be conveyed by land and sea; and when it is

proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. I am not one of those who think that commanders ought never to receive advice; on the contrary, I should deem that man more proud than wise who did everything of his own single judgment. If, therefore, anyone thinks himself qualified to give advice respecting the war which I am to conduct, which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the State. . .

But if he thinks this too much trouble and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not, on land, assume the office of a pilot."

For to-day, likewise, that disposes of our "dry land pilots".

SERVICE AT HOME, NO OTHER CHOICE

There are many who cannot serve in the forces and whose financial contribution may not be very large but who are making a real sacrifice. Here we refer particularly to the mothers, wives and sweethearts of the men at war. No one can estimate the moral fortitude which enables them to keep on smiling as they perform their daily tasks. There are many men, particularly those who served in the last war, who on account of age or infirmities cannot pass the tests required for overseas service. These men are in reserve forces performing useful service for Canada and making it possible for others who are physically fit to join the active service forces.

ESPRIT DE CORPS

And so there is a service to be rendered and a sacrifice to be made at home as well as on the battlefield. Make no mistake—wars, total wars, are won "not by the genius of the few, but by the faithfulness of the many". The civilian has his part to play and you, by the very duties you have assumed, are bringing that home to him. Your willingness and enthusiasm will give heart to the rest of the people of Canada and will encourage them to make greater sacrifice of their time and substance for war work. You have an influence in the community from which you came. Remember it is in the local community that public opinion is crystallized and national resolve formulated. Here the fire of patriotism is lighted and tended until it breaks into a great national flame. In the sum total, this becomes a powerful moral force behind those to whose lot it has fallen to defend our country and our civilization.

THE FIGHTING SERVICES

When we refer to the fighting services we usually mean the Navy, the Army and the Air Force. But there is a group of Canadians who are not a part of the recognized fighting forces but who suffer many hardships and take great risks. They are really a fourth arm of the fighting forces. We refer to Canadian merchant seamen, now called the Canadian Merchant Navy, a title conferred on them by His Majesty the King.

THE CANADIAN MERCHANT NAVY

There are over 38,000 Canadian Merchant seamen; roughly, one third serve on inland, one third on coastal, and one third on deep-sea waters. Thousands of other Canadian seamen serve on allied ships.

No service is more heroic than that of the men of the deep-sea Merchant Navy. In addition to the usual hazards of the sea, they face the constant peril of having their vessels torpedoed, shelled by surface raiders or bombed by aeroplanes. These men are our unsung heroes. They are without uniform, nothing to distinguish them save the letters "M N" (Merchant Navy) with the word "Canada" above them on a badge in the lapel of their coats. Many hundreds have lost their lives when their ships have been sunk. Their comrades did not lose courage but turned to the sea again as soon as another ship was available, ready to do battle with an enemy who in arms and equipment has all the advantages.

Many a story of the bravery and tenacity of these men could be written. Lieut.-Commander J. C. Hibbard, captain of the Canadian destroyer *Skeena* tells of the heroic part played, not only by the Canadian destroyers and corvettes, but also by the men who man the ships laden with munitions and supplies. He tells of one of the merchantmen. Armed with only three machine guns it attacked enemy submarines three times within twenty-four hours and on at least one occasion found its mark. The following is the tribute paid by the Captain of the *Skeena* to the merchant seaman: (reported by Charles Rawlings in "Fighting Ship", *Maclean's* Magazine, March 15, 1942).

"My hat's off to the Merchant Navy. These ships have had it hard. They've helped me fight. They've answered every signal like ships of the line. Do you know who's winning the war? The women of Britain and the Merchant Navy."

163

Another tribute has come to the Merchant Navy from the Government which is now according merchant officers and seamen pensions for injuries and death on a scale similar to that granted in the Royal Navy; detention allowances if taken prisoners of war; and decorations and awards of a civilian nature for services in the presence of the enemy as well as Naval Gallantry awards for meritorious and distinguished service before the enemy.

CANADA'S FIGHTING FORCES

Many of our young men have joined the active service forces, many have gone to Great Britain or some other theatre of war. They form our first line of defence. They have made their resolve and have rushed to hold the ramparts so recently held by their fathers in the last war. There was no fanfare or noisy demonstration when they left. They now are at the post of noblest duty. Upon them and the other fighting forces of the United Nations rests all that is dearest to us-our country, our ideals, our lives. We hold our heads high as we hear of their bravery. We bow with bared heads when we think of those who have performed their last heroic deed. There is a tear but it dries as we ponder how nobly they have served. Reports of acts of heroism of Canadian soldiers are numberless. single out any one would be unfair to the others. The Canadian active forces, on the sea, on the land and in the air have upheld and added to a tradition of which Canada is so justly proud. Courage and selflessness are the main characteristics. A story is told of a brave young Canadian pilot who had engaged in many battles in the air over Britain. He had won honours and promotion for courage and efficiency. He was being sent back to Canada to train personnel for the Air Force. He might have welcomed this well-earned return to the comparative safety of life in Canada. But no. He wept. He wept tears of frustration at leaving Britain during crisis.

But why was this man eager to stay in England? Why do other Canadians go so freely—fight so bravely? Why are those in training in Canada so eager to acquire a proper training physically and mentally? Why do the civilians so gladly do their share? Why are the mothers, the wives and the sweethearts so brave when the fateful cable arrives? Why did Canada go to war?

THE SPIRIT OF FREEDOM

It is because the spirit of freedom, a vitalizing and ennobling force, dormant in the heart and soul of our people, has suddenly come to life. This always happens when freedom is

threatened. It has been the same through the ages and will be the same for ages to come. In the last war, half a million Canadians volunteered for overseas service. Their heroism became a by-word throughout the world. Sixty thousand of them now sleep in Flanders Fields. To-day thousands of young men and women are volunteering for service which they know calls for the greatest deeds of bravery and sacrifice.

Our Morale Stands up in Adversity

It is this spirit of freedom, in all of us, which built our morale and maintained it during the early years of the war when the sledding was so tough. We had hoped for peace, hence were illprepared for a war we did not want. The nations that planned for war had trained men. They had for many years deprived their people of the necessities of life in order that preparations for war could go on unhampered. It was to be expected that, lacking the necessary powerful machines for war, lacking trained men, we would of necessity be at a disadvantage in the early stages. The result was that we had "to take it" and to keep on taking it. The Germans, on the contrary, had been fed continuous stories of success. That was grist to their mill. But then the tide turned. It was heartening to know that our airmen, always outnumbered in the early part of the war, would still grapple successfully with the enemy. In the summer of 1940, during the air attacks of July and August, Vincent Sheean, the writer, spent a good deal of time on the cliffs of Dover. The Germans then were at least four to one in the air and Mr. Sheean believed that their losses were about in the same proportion. He speaks of having seen five or six Hurricanes rise to attack a wave of 30 to 40 bombers. The largest combination of Spitfires and Hurricanes that he ever saw together at that time was 13 and the force they attacked was upward of 50 bombers and a large number of fighters.

During the years when the war was such an uphill struggle, our leaders were not depressed. Winston Churchill said that Britain would never surrender and if necessary would fight alone. When defeat seemed to be following defeat the Prime Minister of Canada uttered these words of encouragement:

"If we are depressed by the picture of to-day or to-morrow, we shall be unworthy of our allies and ourselves. Wars of endurance are not lost by the accidents of a day, or a week or a month. They are lost only by the steady disintegration of the moral fibre of a people. The stuff of which the peoples of the British Commonwealth are made is not that kind of fabric."

THE SPIRIT OF BRITAIN

During the first years of the war, when in the face of disastrous adversity, this amazing morale was being maintained, the spirit of freedom seemed to converge. It crystallized into the spirit of Britain. In that island fortress seemingly the last bastion of freedom, the people of Britain, with a small band of freedom-loving allies about them, fought with unequalled heroism and tenacity. In the cities the nights were darker than ever in her history; darker than the nights when Philip's Armada bore down upon her shores, or when Napoleon threatened to cross from France. The unconquerable spirit of ages past re-awakened. It permeated the whole population; civilians as well as soldiers: women as well as men; the young, the aged and the infirm. It extended to all the forces, to every Britisher throughout the world.

A letter was written by an Englishman who remained behind when the British and the Anzac forces were evacuated from Greece. Here is a part of the letter:

"Now they say there is no hope for those of us who are being left behind. We know that as soon as the Germans and Italians get here, which probably will be to-day, some of us are due to be put up against a stone wall.

But the morale is amazing. You can say the British colony went down laughing, and none so much as those

who knew they are going to get the works.

We've had a pretty good innings, and a lot better people than we have had to go before. So, what the hell! Good-bye. Good luck."

The Spirit of Freedom Expands

The Spirit of Britain expanded. It re-awakened in the hearts of the people of Greece that dauntless courage of which her bards sang twenty-five hundred years ago. People thought that the Greece of old was dead. Speaking of the glories of ancient Greece and the brave three hundred who fought at Thermopylae, Lord Byron uttered, in despair, yet with a hope:

"Of the three hundred grant but three To make another Thermopylae."

Greece was attacked, not by the Persians, but by hordes of Huns. The Greek soldier fought as gallantly as the Spartan soldiers of old. In mountain fastnesses the Greek guerrilla fights on. Lord Byron's prayer has been granted.

The spirit of freedom rapidly spread into the overseas dominions. Australian and New Zealand forces fought with

the British and the Greeks. South African troops pushed on through Ethiopia, helping to liberate an enslaved people. Indian troops fought in Libya. Canadian airmen joined in the defence of the island fortress and covered themselves with glory in the battles of London and other British cities.

The spirit of freedom reached outside the British Commonwealth. Thousands of men came to Canada from the United States to join the Air Force and other war services. Some of them hitch-hiked all the way from Texas. Men from South America and other distant lands are in our Air Force. We do not hear of anyone travelling from distant lands to join the German Air Force. Men do not volunteer to serve in the forces of tyranny. It is the love of freedom which prompts men to offer themselves—their very lives—in order that others may enjoy that which they hold so dear.

The Spirit of Freedom in Russia

People have wondered why the Russians are able to fight so well. The generals, though able, alone could not do it. The war machine, powerful though it is, could not do it. It is the people—soldier and civilian alike—all the people. Here the spirit of freedom has burst into a flame no less bright than in the West. The Russians are fighting with, not against, democracy. They are fighting for their freedom. They would rather die than lose it.

Spirit of Freedom Becomes a World Spirit

With the entry of the United States of America and China into the war, and later over twenty previously neutral nations, it can truly be said that the spirit of freedom has expanded into a world spirit.

The Battle of the Philippines is a modern Thermopylae. For months, while Hong Kong, Singapore, Java and Burma were falling, a small army of Americans and Filipinos held the Bataan Peninsula and Corregidor to which General MacArthur moved his forces when he knew it was impossible to hold Manila. The world marvelled at the fighting spirit of the Filipinos. But they had something to fight for, knowing that in 1946 they would have the option of complete independence. What had already appeared as the dawn of freedom was suddenly made dark as midnight. The awakened spirit of freedom rebelled; the Filipinos fought like demons. The American soldiers, who recently had come from a country where isolation had been preached, fought as men inspired. They

were inspired. Freedom, not for some people on one continent, but for all, brown Filipinos as well as white Americans, had gripped their very souls.

This world spirit of freedom has enabled men to reach new heights of service and sacrifice. Only two illustrations need be given. Fred Penfold, from the suburbs of Greater London, was one of the Commandos selected to raid St. Nazaire on March 28, 1942. The night before he left on this daring assignment—from which he did not return—he wrote the following letter to his mother:

"Dear Mother: I am writing this letter on the eve of our big 'job'. It is in case I fail to return. All I ask is that you bear up as you have always done in everything before. You will have George to comfort you, and I know he won't fail you in any way.

The money I have sent you, £17 in all, I wish you and Joan (his sweetheart) to share and spend as you likebut not on any mourning clothes, as that will be a waste. Have a good time on it, the same as I would have done.

I'm putting my trust in God that nothing will happen

to me, so keep your chins up all the time.

This is my big chance to do something useful. You will have read all about it in the papers and know the 'job' will have saved hundreds of sailors' lives and ensure a lot of convoys a safe journey. So you see it won't be doing something useless. You can hold your head up high and feel very proud of your son.
I'm very sorry I can't express things any better.

Cheerio and the best of luck.

From your ever-loving son,

FRED.

P.S.—Thanks for everything you have done for me in the past. God bless and keep you safe forever."

An Air Force station commander, looking through the effects of a young Air Force bomber pilot, who was reported killed, found a letter addressed to the boy's mother with instructions that it be mailed if the flier should ever fail to return. The bereaved mother gave her permission that the letter might be published anonymously. Parts of this letter read as follows:-

"I have always admired your amazing courage in the face of continual set-backs, in the way you have given me as good educational back-ground as anyone in the country and always kept up appearances without ever losing faith in the future. My death would not mean your struggle was in vain. Far from it, as it means your sacrifice was as great as mine. Those who serve England must expect nothing from her; we debase ourselves if we regard our country merely as a place in which to eat and sleep.

History resounds with illustrious names of those who have given their all, yet their sacrifice resulted in the British Empire, where there is a measure of peace, justice and freedom for all, and where a higher standard of civilization had been evolved and is still evolving than anywhere else. But this is not only concerning our own land. To-day we are faced with the greatest organized challenge to Christianity and civilization the world has ever seen, and I count myself lucky and honoured to be the right age and fully trained to throw in my full weight into the scrap. For this, I have to thank you.

Yet there is more work for you to do. The home front will still have to stand united during the years after the war is won. For all that can be said against it, I still maintain this war is a very good thing; every individual will have a chance to give his all for the principle, like the martyrs of old.

I firmly and absolutely believe that evil things are sent into the world to try us; they are sent deliberately by our Creator to test our mettle, because He knows what is good for us. The Bible is full of cases where an easy way out has been discarded for moral principles."

Only free men can write such letters. The Spirit of Freedom aises a man above that which is mortal. Nothing from withut can create it. It comes from within. Or does it come from bove? Whether it will reach out in an ever widening crescendo epends upon you and me—all freedom-loving men, wherever ney dwell, whatever their colour, whatever their language or reed.

It's up to you and me!

OUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Can you recall any discussions in your home town about the war and our part in it? Have they been encouraging or otherwise?
- 2. What effect, if any, did your coming here for training have upon your relatives and friends as regards:
 - (a) Financial contributions by them?
 - (b) Their attitude towards the war?
- 3. What do you think would happen to you if the United Nations lost the war?
- 4. Do you agree with the words: "Give me liberty or give me death"?

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The following public addresses are suggested.
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Let Free Men Face Reality Rt. Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, Ottawa, September 17, 1941.
The Little Less—and How Much It Is

SUMMARY

CHAPTER XV

THE UNITED NATIONS

Introduction:

The alternatives are victory or slavery—a hard struggle demanding a will to win.

The Factor of Morale:

Based upon an understanding of the issue at stake, the character of the enemy, and the justness of our cause.

We are not alone:

The twenty-six nation agreement, based upon the Atlantic Charter. None of these nations wanted war but all have agreed to employ their full resources, military and economic, to defeat the enemy.

Beyond the war:

Our faults and weaknesses helped to bring about the present conflict. To avoid similar mistakes we now think about the post-war world. The basic principle for which we fight is "Live and let live".

The interdependence and co-operation in this great struggle is a clue to what must be done in the peace that will follow.

Permanent Peace:

There must be permanent peace. How to achieve it is a difficult question but some things are certain:

A. The aggressors will be defeated and then disarmed.

B. There will be something like an improved League of Nations to enforce the peace.

Within the nation no one is absolutely free; so in the larger field nations must recognize and obey laws and respect engagements intended to be binding upon all.

There will be either international order or chaos and destruction. The United Nations have chosen the former.

The Establishing of Freedom:

The four freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt: freedom of speech; freedom of worship; freedom from want; freedom from fear.

There is another freedom-freedom of information. Men must be allowed to learn the truth-only then will the Nazi lies be exposed.

More Security for all:

Our economic system must provide reasonable opportunity for all, security for all and enjoyment by all of the abundance which this world can provide. Then there will be economic security and abiding peace. Living-space means a fair share of that abundance.

The Post-war World:

1. Peace, based on justice and on consent.

2. Freedom of nations to govern themselves provided they do not interfere with others.

3. Increased economic well-being.

This means safety of your family and your opportunity to follow your trade, business or profession. It means freedom for you to live your own life.

Chapter XV

THE UNITED NATIONS

In the foregoing lectures we have seen clearly the nature of our quarrel with the foe. It was none of our seeking; it comes as a challenge which must be met and mastered, if we are to survive as a free and self-respecting nation. The alternatives are victory or slavery.

It has been, and will be, a hard struggle, demanding every ounce of energy and will to win; every possible ton of production of planes, tanks, guns, ships, and armaments of every kind; and every atom of skill and courage from our fighting men. Fortunately, so far as the last is concerned, that is our tradition; that is how we like to fight.

Like everything else in your training, the purpose of these lectures is to help to make you efficient, for skill at arms and in use of tactical resources is absolutely necessary for good soldiers. But in addition to these there is, for the soldier of a democracy, a crowning element—confidence in himself and in his cause.

THE FACTOR OF MORALE

This can be explained best by a story. A certain commander, justifiably dissatisfied with the way things were going, decided to remodel his army. In the battles that followed the enemy gave them the name "Ironsides". That name has remained as an ideal of soldierly firmness and efficiency.

What was the secret? Oliver Cromwell, the commander, has told what it was. Speaking of the type of soldier who made up the famous Ironsides, he said: "He knows what he fights for and loves what he knows."

Confidence in yourself comes from knowledge and mastery of your weapons, from the habit of discipline, and from understanding the issues at stake, appreciation of the true character of the enemy, and conviction that the cause for which you fight is just; also, it should be added, from the knowledge that others are with you in the fight.

WE ARE NOT ALONE

Assurance of the justness of our cause, if that were needed, and of ultimate victory, comes from the fact that we are united with many other nations in the struggle for victory and world freedom.

On January 2, 1942, twenty-six nations from all quarters of the globe, united in a joint proclamation. (See Appendix to this lecture for text of agreement and names of signatories.) They accepted the Atlantic Charter (See Appendix) and in the conviction, "that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence, and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as other lands", they accepted two solemn obligations:

- (1) To employ their full resources, military or economic, against the Axis.
- (2) To co-operate with one another, and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

These nations, whom others joined later, see that there is only one way to escape domination by Germany and Japan, and that is the way of co-operation, in mutual defence against the aggressors. The Atlantic Charter shows that they also realize that preservation of the peace will require genuine co-operation. It is another example of the old saying, "United we stand, divided we fall".

It will be noted that the members of the United Nations are all peace-loving nations; that is, unlike Germany and Japan, their society and its economy have not been geared to "Wehrmacht" (war-power), as the Germans call it. They have sought butter, not guns. Now they must deny themselves the ways of peace, often appreciated only after they are lost, and must hold at bay those enemies who thought to harry and devour them. At first the aggressor had the advantage, but time, if wisely used, favours the democracies who grow stronger every day. Who would have thought in September, 1940, when London was under siege from the air, that in May, 1942, the British would be devastating German cities, dropping a greater weight of bombs on Cologne in one night than was dropped on London during the entire war up to that date?

Against this rising tide of men and materials, the Axis will struggle with all the bitterness and cunning born of desperation and guilty fears. That desperation must be met by resolution, sustained by the conviction that our cause is just and must prevail.

BEYOND THE WAR

Every great sacrifice is justified only by a great reward, which need not be selfish. This is fully recognized and at the very beginning of the war this truth was expressed by the then Prime Minister of Great Britain, and by His Majesty King George. In their broadcast speeches, they referred to the hope of a better world after the war.

It must be remembered always that war in itself is negative. It breaks the will and removes or lessens the menace of the defeated enemy. The positive side is that it gives us, as the victors, delivered by force of arms from savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, the opportunity of making a better human society. We cannot deny that our own faults and weaknesses helped to bring about the disaster. Out of the pre-war world came the tragedy of tyranny and chaos: to avoid another such outcome, we must create a different world. Our war aims, as expressed by great leaders like Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, point to the nature of this world.

The Basic Principle

All three of the Axis nations have shown themselves to be cunning and ruthless in their plots to overthrow small nations. The long list of victims is already familiar (See Lecture VI). In contrast to all this villainy, which has been accurately described in preceding lectures, the basic principle of the United Nations can be expressed in the homely phrase, "Live and let live".

Reduced to its simplest terms, that is what we are fighting for; and so in wiping out the international gangsterism of Hitler, Mussolini and the Japanese imperialists, we are doing a job for the entire human race.

This "Live and let live" is the general meaning of the Atlantic Charter, and you can see it expressed quite clearly in every one of the eight paragraphs which make up that great declaration. (Refer specially to the Charter, Appendix.)

Interdependence and Co-operation

One of the great lessons that modern war teaches, and which we should have learned in the peace, is that nations depend on one another. Because geography—land masses and oceans—is a constant conditioning factor, wars once begun must spread. Isolationism is quite impossible; and if attempted is disastrous, for it is just what the enemy wants.

Having learned this the hard way, the United Nations have solemnly declared, in both the Atlantic Charter and the Twenty-Six Nations' Agreement, that they will co-operate fully in the war and in the peace that will follow.

This policy, described as "the fullest collaboration" in the Charter (See Section V), will ensure victory in war, and gives hope of positive progress in the peace. If this collaboration is made real, and we must use all our powers of democratic citizenship to help bring that about, it will be the reward of our sacrifice.

Mr. Wendell Wilkie, whose generous spirit transcends political rivalry, has given pointed expression to this. Speaking in May, 1942, he said:

"It will be a new idea to many Americans that the United States may in the future need help from other nations. But we do need help if our ideas of personal liberty, of justice, of equality, of hope and growth and expansion, are to survive. We can keep America to ourselves, though I doubt if the America we keep to ourselves would be free. But we cannot keep freedom to ourselves. If we are to have freedom, we must share freedom. . . .

Let us keep that aim shining before us like a light—a light for the people of Europe, for the people of Africa, for the people of Asia, for the people of South America and for the people of our own beloved land."

These words are an eloquent summary of the conviction of the United Nations, that their freedom also means freedom and dignity for all people of all lands.

PERMANENT PEACE

The final victory in this war will not be won until rampant militarism is overthrown. But that is not enough. Its menace must be removed. We cannot endure a condition in which peace is simply an armistice between wars. For peace of that kind is full of dislocations, crises, desperate expedients and conflicts short of war. We must have something better than that.

Some Things are Certain

How can we achieve it? That is a hard question, but some things are certain. The aggressors will be defeated and then disarmed, and the victorious allies will enforce peace. Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden, speaking as the British Foreign Secretary, said on May 8, 1942: "We have as our aim a state of affairs in which the four great world powers represented in the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States of America, the USSR and China will together sustain the peace. In peace they will look for aid from the peace-loving countries just as they do now in war."

There will be something like an improved League of Nations, and already political scientists are considering what adjustments must be made to absolute national sovereignties for such an organization to be a success. The problem of peace between nations will be solved only in the way of the law, maintained by the police force, and interpreted and directed by the courts. These limits do not really reduce freedom; rather, they make freedom possible. Think it through and you will realize that absolute freedom for one person is a denial of it for every other person. When there is no law, and people do whatever they like, the strong impose their will upon the weak, might is right, and there is freedom only for the powerful and the cunning.

The Axis nations, claiming to be a law unto themselves have created a condition of lawlessness in which only force or cunning decides what shall be done in international relations. There must be a law recognized by all states, and enforced on behalf of all by some international organization, having suffi-

cient power to do so.

Some such arrangement on an international scale is the logical development of a process of order which has taken place in the family, the tribe, and the nation. It is the big problem of order to-day. Though costly and difficult, it will be less costly and less inconvenient than frequent wars on a scale. The alternatives are clear: international order, or chaos and destruction. The United Nations have chosen the former.

In a message to Congress, delivered on January 6, 1941, President Roosevelt laid down the fundamental freedoms

which characterize democracy. He said:

"In the future days which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship

God in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want, which translated into world terms means economic understanding which will secure to every nation a healthy peace-time life for its inhabitants everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear, which translated into world terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion for it to be impossible to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour anywhere in the world."

The subject of these lectures, namely the place of ideas in the struggle we are waging, brings home the importance of another freedom—freedom of information. Earlier lectures have shown how the Nazis employ wholesale misrepresentation, slanders upon racial, national and political groups, manufactured grievances, vicious and brazen misreadings of history. A press, completely servile to the party in power, and a radio system regarded only as a device for blanketing the world with untruth, are engines of mental destruction. They cannot be tolerated in a decent world. They will be effectively overthrown by the method of freedom, by permitting the other side to be freely spoken and printed.

The establishment of freedom will be a difficult task. An excellent short account of it was given by Dr. James Shotwell, Canadian-born professor at Columbia University, in a broadcast (December 13, 1941):

"Alongside the restoration of economic prosperity there is another task, perhaps more pressing and more difficult: The restoration of freedom not only to those who have been conquered but to those who have surrendered their liberty to tyrants at home. The rebuilding of the international order calls for the re-education of those who have been misled in youth and the re-establishing of the standards of human dignity, equality and tolerance through the world . . . safeguarding not only personal liberty but freedom of thought, of religion, of expression. Nowhere in the world should there be left a Gestapo, that symbol of arbitrary imprisonment and torture."

Professor Shotwell adds that it cannot be done by one nation, nor can it be done all at once.

MORE SECURITY FOR ALL

The war broke out at a time when in both Canada and the United States new efforts were being made to improve the economic life of the people. The great Social Security Act (1935) of the United States, and Unemployment Insurance Act of Canada (1940) are cases in point. Everywhere it is being recognized that economic dislocations, with disastrous effect on the lives of millions, are a powerful factor making for unrest, and leading towards war.

Speaking before the Rotary Club of London, November 20, 1940, Rt. Hon. Ernest Bevin, Minister of Labour, said that unemployment was the "devil which has driven the masses in large areas of the world to turn to dictators". Similarly, Foreign Secretary Eden stated on May 8, 1942: "You will never have peace on this earth unless you have an economic system in which men and women who are willing to work are able to work and find a reward for their labours."

President Roosevelt gave expression to all this when he said:

"There is nothing mysterious about the foundations of a healthy and strong democracy. The basic things expected by our people of their political and economic system are simple. They are:

Equality of opportunity for youth and for others.

Jobs for those who can work. Security for those who need it.

The ending of the special privilege for the few.

The preservation of civil liberties for all.

The enjoyment of the fruits of scientific progress in a wider and constantly rising standard of living."

Mr. Roosevelt added: "The inner and abiding strength of our economic and political system is dependent upon the degree to which they fulfil these expectations."

This quotation from Mr. Roosevelt illustrates the nature of democratic security. It was in the minds of the framers of the Atlantic Charter and of those who spoke in the name of the twenty-six United Nations. Here are the words of Section V in the Atlantic Charter:

"They (Britain and the United States; later all the Nations accepting the Charter) desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations on the economic front, to secure for all 'improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security'."

Related to this improvement, is the intention stated in the Atlantic Charter, Section IV: "They will endeavour to further the enjoyment of the trade and raw materials of the world by all states great or small, victor or vanquished."

Real Living-Space for All

This is a most important provision, because it is the true answer to the problem of "lebensraum" (living-space). Living-space does not really refer to acres of land. As long as there

is space in which to build houses and roads, there is livingspace in the sense of acreage. What is really meant by "lebensraum" is employment, and the power to produce or import goods the consumption of which satisfies human desires.

A Canadian with well stocked shops nearby, an income on which he can maintain himself and family, fire and public services—light, water, sewage disposal, police, fire, public health protection, has "lebensraum", though a million of his kind dwell in the same city. On the other hand, a solitary wanderer in the desert or the Arctic tundra, lacking food and water and the advantages of human co-operation has no "lebensraum", though he be the only human in a thousand square miles.

"Lebensraum" means trade, jobs, goods, income that will buy things, and things to buy, ability to produce, implying ability to possess raw materials necessary for production, and consequently ability to acquire goods in exchange. This being so, the Atlantic Charter is the solution to the problem of living-space. It is "Live and let live" in the economic realm. It is a condition of lasting peace, which will be provided for all.

THE POST-WAR WORLD

On the basis of the declared war aims of the United Nations then, we can say that the world after the war will have:

- 1. Peace, based on justice and on consent. It will not be the peace imposed by a tyrant victor on a vanquished world, a "Pax Germanica", or the deadly peace miscalled "coprosperity" by the Japanese. It will be the kind of peace indivisible from the other elements in the program here described. The kind of peace imposed by the enemies is simply a cessation of resistance to their arms, providing them with an opportunity for looting on a grand scale.
- 2. Freedom of nations to live and govern themselves under their own form of rule, provided always that it does not offer a threat to the peace and freedom of other nations. Also, freedom of individuals to think, speak, worship and act within the limits of even-handed law.
- 3. Increased economic well-being, which all this implies in the necessaries of life, health, social and cultural opportunities, and complete security.

Thus the principles that are international in scope, become part and parcel of your daily life.

Peace means safety of your family and friends, your opportunity to follow your trade, business or profession.

FREEDOM means that you know where you stand, that you are able to speak your mind, worship God and travel around without interference. It means that if it is claimed that you have done wrong, you have a fair trial in open court where you meet your accusers; the penalties are definite and humane. There must be none of this arbitrary imprisonment, torture, secret killings and personal revenge that is one side of what Hitler himself calls "bottomless villainy".

SECURITY: Similarly "Social Security" means that you and your family will have the opportunity to make a livelihood; and when through no fault of your own that cannot be done, society, for whom you fought, stands by you.

But remember, if Hitler and Mussolini and the Japanese have their way, this will not be done. These barbarians must be defeated first. And then, carrying the comradeship of war into the paths of peace, we will rebuild shattered cities and re-shape the lives of nations; and, building closer to political. social and religious ideals of our civilization, we will use all the scientific and technical powers of our age to enrich human life.

Our present task, however, is to use these powers, our economic resources, and our personal energies and skills, to bring about the utter defeat of those who under the masquerade of a "New Order", would enslave humanity. This victory won, we will build a post-war world worthy of our sacrifices and the sacrifices of our partners in the struggle.

Appendix I

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

SECOND, They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

THIRD, They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

FOURTH, They will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

FIFTH, They desire to bring about the fullest collaborations between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security;

SIXTH, After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

SEVENTH, Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and without hindrance;

Eighth, They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will

likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT WINSTON S. CHURCHILL

Dated August 14, 1941.

Appendix II UNITED NATIONS AGREEMENT JOINT ACCORD SIGNED BY ANTI-AXIS ALLIES

Declaration by United Nations

A joint declaration by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

The government signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common programme of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:—

Pledge Full Resources

- 1. Each government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the tripartite pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.
- 2. Each government pledges itself to co-operate with the governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Done at Washington, January 1, 1942.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

- 1. Were you ever unemployed? If so, did the experience make you critical of democracy?
- 2. What can the ordinary citizen do to help bring about the better world which we have tried to describe in this lecture?
- 3. What do you think would be Canada's contribution to the post-war world?
- 4. What is implied in sharing trade as set down in the Atlantic Charter? Does it involve standards of living, and political equality?
- 5. Can you suggest a possible organization for an international police force? What are some of the difficulties? Would you like to belong to it?

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